Sites of Contention—Now What?

Towards Inclusive Practices and New Forms of Collective Memory at Confederate Monuments

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

Master of Science in Historic Preservation

Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation

Columbia University in the City of New York

May 2019

ABSTRACT

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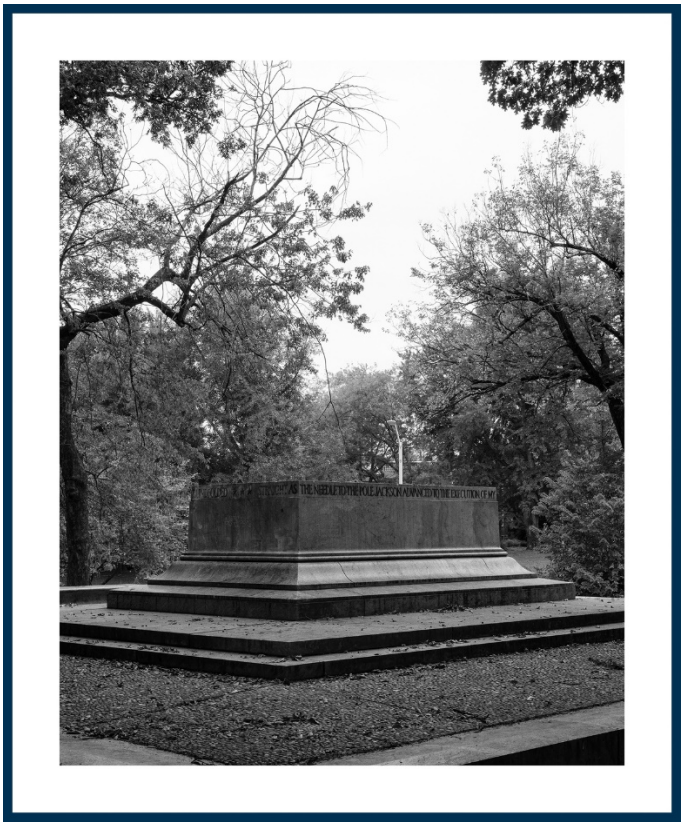

Post Monuments, Baltimore, (Robert E. Lee & Stonewall Jackson, erected 1948), 2017, Matthew Shain

Inspired by recent violent and tragic events in Charleston, South Carolina and Charlottesville, Virginia, in 2015 and 2017, respectively, this thesis explores shifting practices of commemoration and memory, through five contentious sites where Confederate monuments once stood: the Robert E. Lee

Monument at Lee Circle in New Orleans, Louisiana; the Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson Monument at Wyman Park Dell in Baltimore, Maryland; the Nathan Bedford Forrest Monument at Health Sciences Park in Memphis, Tennessee; the Confederate Monument in Demopolis, Alabama; and the Confederate Soldiers Monument in Durham, North Carolina. Central questions explored include the relationships between race, memory, and the production of space; the meanings of cultural memory and history; power and its unequal distribution; erasure and contextualization; and participatory and democratic practices.

The methodology employed in this thesis is primarily an exploratory and comparative study that uses new and underrepresented sources, together with traditional scholarly research. Though Confederate monuments have long been contentious, arguably since their erection, the recent events in Charleston and Charlottesville revitalized a national discourse around the meanings and unequal power structures attached to them. Researching historically repressed narratives, together with the contemporary and ongoing nature of these debates, required mining local and historical newspapers, including black newspapers, websites, contemporary journals, news and radio programs, city commission reports, and Twitter for information, as these stories are not found in traditional archives. Such approaches help to pluralize architectural history and preservation practice and to surface previously untold narratives.

The case studies all share certain criteria. For example, they are all Confederate monuments on public land and were removed or damaged since the events in Charleston and/or Charlottesville. However, the local circumstances surrounding each monument differ and thus allow me to explore a distinct aspect of the monument problem—such as levels of democratic and public participation, counter-monuments, the manipulation of preservation law, and accidental or illegal removal—in each case study. Analyzing the contemporary events and local politics surrounding specific contentious sites in the United States revealed certain shared processes or practices. These include: advocating for

recontextualization; the importance of local politics and participatory practices, such as town hall meetings, popular vote, grassroots initiatives, and social media in considering monuments and their sites; the opportunities and limitations of abstract counter-monuments; and the need for a comprehensive understanding of preservation law. It is hoped this analysis will suggest ways preservation might approach these and other contentious sites in the future, helping to advance local, national, and global conversations about how controversial sites can be dealt with more constructively and inclusively moving forward.

Contents

Acknowledgements

I sincerely and gratefully acknowledge Jennifer Gray for her steadfast guidance and encouragement throughout this project from start to finish. Thank you. Working with you has been a tremendous gift.

I owe heartfelt thanks to Mabel O. Wilson and Erik Fenstad Langdalen as well, whose expertise, generosity, and feedback greatly benefitted this work and gave me the confidence to reach the end.

I am eternally indebted to my family and friends for their unwavering patience, optimism, and understanding.

And finally, but most ardently, I dedicate this work to Deegan McClung, who has not only had to watch me tap tapping away while we could have been doing other things, but has tenaciously and abundantly supported me each step of the way. You fill every day with light and joy.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

On June 17, 2015, in Charleston, South Carolina, self-proclaimed white supremacist Dylann Roof shot and killed nine members of the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church. Two years later, on August 11 and 12, 2017, Charlottesville, Virginia played host to a series of violent and deadly riots, when far-right protesters rallied in an attempt to unify the American white nationalist movement and oppose the removal of a monument to Robert E. Lee from the public grounds of a city park. These events shook the United States, and led to a renewed nationwide discourse over not only the meaning of the monuments and symbols of white supremacy and the Confederacy, but of what should be done with these places during this important moment of reckoning.

Inspired by these tragic events and the over 110 (and counting) Confederate symbols of power in the United States that the Southern Poverty Law Center has identified as having been removed since the Charleston attack, this thesis seeks to understand the circumstances and effects of certain interventions at sites where Confederate monuments have been removed. The objective is to extend the preservation discourse to critically consider the futures of these sites after a removal has already taken place, thus moving beyond the already important work being done to ascertain whether or not certain monuments should be left standing. Both kinds of work should be happening concurrently.

Confederate monuments are at the center of these debates, and exist in the American landscape as spatializations of power, specifically Lost Cause and other white supremacist narratives. They represent the collective memory of certain groups of people in the United States, at the expense of others, namely black Americans, which is the result of the narratives that all people of the nation have

been handed down over time. As physical and spatial encounters, these sites communicate and function in ways that still exclude scores of Americans because of the color of their skin. These sites have been and endure as products of political motives, yet remain important to the American historical narrative because they are the vehicle by which we are able to remember the past. However, these sites have not accounted for the changes this country has undergone in the last several decades, and have remained for the most part fixed and seemingly immoveable, and appear to be dispensing the same myths, ideologies, and theories they were promoting a century ago. These are the American sites today that have found themselves at the epicenter of a renewed debate.

Cities and those organizations or people who have the power to make decisions regarding the public landscape, as well as all stakeholders in a particular site, including preservationists, might look to this thesis to gain insight into how they might proceed regarding the treatment of their Confederate sites, which may extend to considerations of other kinds of contentious sites as well. By critically analyzing the effects of certain interventions on particular sites—including physical traces or alterations, the processes that led to those interventions, the laws governing particular jurisdictions, the amount of top down or public/grassroots action, and outcomes (as far as can be understood at this time, given that these sites are the locations of very recent and ongoing events, thus outcomes are still unfolding)—this thesis seeks to distill and reveal processes and practices that might be used by future decision-makers and stakeholders in determining the fates of their own controversial public sites beyond the preliminary question of monument removal.

In order to achieve this objective, this thesis contains a comprehensive analysis of five different sites in the United States where a Confederate statue has been removed and that continue to be debated in order to determine their eventual fates. While these case studies are all contentious, the processes that have dictated their treatment are unique for each site. All are locations which have contained former symbols of power to the Confederacy. These sites include the Robert E. Lee

Monument, at Lee Circle in New Orleans, Louisiana, the Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson Monument at Wyman Park Dell/Harriet Tubman Grove in Baltimore, Maryland, the Nathan Bedford Forrest Monument at Health Sciences Park in Memphis, Tennessee, the Confederate Monument in Demopolis, Alabama, and the Confederate Soldiers Monument in Durham, North Carolina. These case studies were chosen because, while similarities between them exist, each represents a different course of local circumstances and action, thus allowing for comparative analysis.

Stemming from the idea that preservation is responsible for the maintenance, stewardship, safeguarding, and conservation of material and social history and culture, it is critical that the physical, procedural, and narrative aspects of these sites of contention and memory all be considered together. The fact that preservation law is so often implicated in these cases is also significant. By objectively analyzing these factors and outcomes, this thesis might help future responsible parties and stakeholders to understand the factors involved in these types of situations and for their decision-making possibilities. The conclusions can serve as guideposts to aid in other future processes.

MONUMENTS, HISTORY, & PUBLIC MEMORY

One of the major themes explored in this thesis is the distinction between history and memory, specifically public memory, collective memory, or culturally formed memory. This discourse has been explored intensely throughout the twentieth century, continuing today, by philosophers and scholars, such as Maurice Halbwachs, Michael Kammen, and Pierre Nora, and plays a key role in the analysis of monuments. Monuments and memorials, and, very importantly, the sites in which they embody, are constructed landscapes that represent the assigned singular memories or meanings of those who sponsored or created the monuments. They are not necessarily representative of the historic events that took place during a certain period. As such, monuments have increasingly become sites of

contested and competing meanings, "more likely the site(s) of cultural conflict than of shared national values and ideals."[1] As Halbwachs has argued, all memory is part of a social process shaped by the groups to which an individual belongs, and therefore people recall history collectively through constructed memory. As members of a social group—whether private, public, invented, or based on nationality—people, through monuments, remember as a collective unit, in addition to their own individual memories. The *lieux de memorie*, as Nora termed them, or sites of memory, such as the sites of monuments, become so important to various groups who share similar interests, beliefs, or a historical past because of this collective nature of memory, which links people to previous generations. In the words of James Young, "By creating common spaces for memory, monuments propagate the illusion of common memory."[2]

History can be thought of a set of facts regarding past events that have taken place. As Nora would argue, history is the self-conscious means by which modern societies order their past so as not to forget that past in the face of change. Certainly the retelling and preservation of those facts and that past can be shaped and reshaped over time. However, memory differs from history in that the manufacturing and distorting, reconstruction and manipulating of collective memory is done to serve contemporary needs, by using history, and is shaped directly by the social groups to which individuals belong. This is why people place such great importance in sites of memory, or *lieux de memorie*, rather than in facts or events, as these sites directly give rise to collective memory, superseding many individual memories or one history.

The idea of collective public memory is complicated by the fact that this memory has been constructed. It is the impulse of nations or groups of people to create overarching narratives that are

[1] Young, James E., "Memory/Monument," *Critical Terms for Art History*, ed. Robert S. Nelson and Richard Shiff, 2nd ed., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.
[2] Ibid.

representative of themselves and that will hopefully live on into the future. But who gets to engage in making the decisions as to what those narratives of collective memory will be? Which narratives are allowed into the trajectory of collective memory is determined by those with political and cultural power. Certainly in the case of Confederate monuments in the United States, meaning is the product of white supremacist beliefs propagated by a vocal, white percentage of the population in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries who used their power to revise historical fact in order to fulfill self-serving desires to preserve their position in society as those with the highest social standing.

While these sites contain embedded histories, or stories that have accrued over time within and associated with the built landscape, the collective memories which they promote are the work of those who dominate the cultural landscape at any given time. Embedded histories also refer to the fact that while certain narratives have been absent from the publicness of these sites as a result of their asymmetrical power structures, that does not mean these narratives are not present in these locations or sites of memory. These sites contain memories and the potential for discourse regarding that which does not necessarily show up in traditional archives. As W. E. B. Du Bois wrote, these Confederate monuments would have been more honest if they had been inscribed, "Sacred to the memory of those who fought to Perpetuate Human Slavery," rather than "Died Fighting for Liberty."[3]

The monuments to the Confederacy are one-dimensional, in that they publicly only tell one group's side of the story, but they have been normalized into the collective memory of many Americans. The cracks in this fiction have been increasingly showing themselves, the result of both recent events as well as the fact that many citizens are rejecting this one-sided history. Just as monuments depend on a

[3] Du Bois, W. E. B., as quoted by Eric Foner, "A Questionnaire on Monuments: 49 Responses," *October 165*, MIT Press, Summer 2018, p. 54.

public for meaning, they should respond to that public in terms of determining how and what they communicate.

Do monuments and their sites represent history, the power of those who erected it, or the ongoing discourse that these sites have contributed to? How do monuments and their sites function and communicate with the public? What can and can't they do? As visual artist Sam Durant has written, in the United States, "most public monuments and memorials are used to forget or cover up our past, not to remember it. They are often used to glorify the conquerors, to forget the conquered, to postpone recognition of genocide, slavery, segregation, sexism, and other atrocities."[4] This is why monuments need to be considered beyond their art-historical meaning, and cannot be disassociated from the political. Yes, they can be finely crafted and aesthetically pleasing, but these meanings are fused to culture and memory, and political consequence, if for no other reason than because they are public artifacts contained in public landscapes, and enshrined in the narratives of those spaces.

It is logical that monuments may reach a moment in their histories, when certain groups might call for them to be taken down and when "the needs of the people living in contemporary landscapes change," as W. Fitzhugh Brundage has written.[5] Ideals, beliefs, and causes shift over time, and therefore so do the meanings of our physical and cultural landscape. Although nations or groups of like-minded people have impulses to memorialize, it must be understood that the content of what they choose to memorialize can or will change over time, and therefore so should the landscapes which physically represent these impulses.

There is an opposing argument used by those who support leaving Confederate monuments in place that to remove these monuments is to remove heritage. They use the phrase "Heritage, not Hate"

[4] Durant, Sam, "A Questionnaire on Monuments: 49 Responses," *October 165*, MIT Press, Summer 2018, p. 39.

[5] Brundage, W. Fitzhugh, "I've Studied the History of Confederate Memorials. Here's What to do About Them," *Vox*, Aug. 18, 2017, Accessed online.

to describe their stance, which is that they wish to protect their Confederate legacy. They argue that symbols such as the Confederate flag or Confederate monuments do not inherently inspire racism, but rather represent a legacy of pride. This argument for preserving heritage is a valid one, although monument supporters who feel this way should also understand and have a full knowledge of Confederate history in order for that heritage to be meaningful. However there are also those monument supporters whose support for the preservation of these sites is based on racial hatred, and for whom this argument of heritage, not hate, cannot apply. Because these two viewpoints both support the same end, namely keeping the Confederate monuments in place, it further complicates the issue. Heritage is a logical and credible argument, while hatred is not.

Interestingly a study was conducted recently by three scholars in a paper titled "Pride or Prejudice? Racial Prejudice, Southern Pride, and White Support for the Confederate Battle Flag," to be published in 2017 in the *Du Bois Review.* The study was an attempt to understand these two arguments in relation to one another. Were the arguments for heritage and hate correlated in any way? What the researchers discovered having interviewed subjects in two states, Georgia and South Carolina, was that, "The more questions about Southern Civil War history that a participant answered correctly, the less likely it was that the person favors the Confederate flag…Racial prejudice, on the other hand, strongly increased support for the Confederate flag…we find that respondents who claim that blacks do not face discrimination (or that they are not harmed by discrimination) are much more supportive of the Confederate battle emblem than are those who acknowledge that discrimination against blacks is real."[6] In conclusion the study claims not to have found strong support for the heritage argument, but it also

[6] Strother, Logan, Spencer Piston, and Thomas Ogorzalek, "Those who support the presence of Confederate symbols in public spaces in the South tend to have less knowledge of Civil War history, negating a commonly used defense that the emblems represent 'heritage not hate,'" London School of Economics website, July 3, 2017, Accessed online.

notes that not all monuments supporters are racist. This still does negate the legitimacy of the heritage argument.

This argument over the heritage of monuments is not a new one, however. The discourse over contentious monuments has existed historically and globally in the past, and the dismantling of public monuments is not a new phenomenon. In fact, it is historic precedents that provide even further evidence for the fact that monuments are most often erected as a reflection of those who have the power to shape public memory, such as in the cases of monuments to King George III, Joseph Stalin, Louis the XV, or Saddam Hussein. There is long history of removing monuments and symbols of power from the public landscape, and thus it is not a new idea that contentious monuments or memorials may be controversial or inappropriate for contemporary times on public land. Societies and nations throughout time, and globally, have dealt with this contention and the ultimate removal of certain symbols from their own sites of power, making decisions about what to do with those sites in their next lives. Lessons learned from some of these historic examples can help shed light on how we in the United States can or should consider our own memorial landscape.

Likewise, the Confederate monument controversy is indicative of not just local micro-issues to do with how communities here in the United States confront their memorial landscapes, but rather speak to a larger more widespread macro-issue to do with contentious sites across the globe as well. There is a dual nature to this discourse. On the one hand the details to do with particular processes at these sites make them local issues. For example, the politics and laws that dictate what happens there very much have to do with specific sites in certain communities, cities, and states, and may not be translatable to other sites. However, the deeper underlying issue, that these types of sites are problematic, is really a national issue, and even a global one in some sense as well, if we consider what monuments represent to their local constituencies.

Simply removing symbols of the past, or, rather, people's interpretations of the past will not necessarily signal real and fundamental change in terms of altering the status quo, and alleviating the outrage, indignity, and damage that has been caused over the past century and a half in this country. Monument removal is unlikely to affect systemic change on its own without a deeper "truth-and-reconciliation process with our past, and that will involve a national reckoning with the foundational catastrophes of our history—genocide and slavery."[7] It will be through the decision-making processes that pertain to how monuments are removed and how their sites are treated that this reconciliation process can start to take place, especially in terms of what should happen to, or has happened at these sites of contention.

In addition to the power certain groups yield over collective memory, this thesis explores the way law and regulations are today being used by governments to dictate what can and cannot be done with the cultural landscape. Despite the recommendations and ambitions of entire communities, certain states have wielded their political power to establish laws preventing the alteration or removal of public monuments, even though it has been established in those communities that these contentious sites do not represent the current beliefs and interests of those communities. In the past certain groups were able to create and dictate which monuments were erected and how. Today similar types of groups rally to prevent those monuments from coming down or being erased of their current and historical message. The arguments used among those who support leaving the monuments in place include: the idea that these monuments commemorate the Civil War, as opposed to the Lost Cause and ideas of white supremacy; the idea that this is a conflict over monuments themselves, rather than the values they ascribe; and the idea that those who are pro-removal are destroying or censoring public art and/or monuments, although their commemorative value in these cases trumps their art historical value,

[7] Durant, "A Questionnaire on Monuments: 49 Responses," p. 39.

especially as these monuments were not intended as public art but rather were part of a campaign for white supremacy. Most significantly these same groups also argue that the removal of monuments is equivalent to erasing history, as in the "Heritage, not Hate" argument. However, the removal question is not only about a lack of preserving history but rather a debate over which parts of history should be honored in public space.

Traditional modes of monument design and construction are being challenged through the use of counter-monuments, including non-figural, temporary, and anonymous work, so even the physical presence of monuments today is starting to shift. Whereas many historical, including Confederate, monuments were designed and constructed in a highly classical visual language, modern and contemporary monuments have begun to push the boundaries of that language. It once was that a monument would typically feature a human figure, elevated on a classical plinth with classical ornamentation. Many figures were depicted on horseback, referencing the statue of Marcus Aurelius in Rome's Piazza del Campidoglio. The use of this language of antiquity hardly disguised its intent. To use classical references was to parallel one's own power with that of the ancient world empires. There was an inherent legitimacy to one's monument if it was styled in the classical—it suggested those who erected a monument had natural, or at least, longstanding rights, and therefore power as well. The reemergence of the neoclassical as the language of monuments symbolically gave them a democratic status and undeniably alluded to their creators as having ultimate influence.

But today we are seeing this trend slowly shift, as epitomized in Maya Lin's Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C. Lin's memorial contains a wall of names of servicepeople who died during the war; etched in marble, these names provide the monument's visual trope. Myriad types of counter-monuments suggest that there is no one kind of physical monument solution, or a single way to memorialize the past. Landscapes are not neutral, and neither are the monuments that occupy these

sites. In order to challenge the ways communities collectively remember, it makes sense that monuments no longer follow a neoclassical mode, and instead have further begun to defy convention.

Concurrently, grassroots and ad hoc measures are being taken by members of the community to resist and challenge the status quo, including citizens' activist groups leading the charge, artists who are introducing evocative counter-monuments onto these sites, and social media, which allows protesters to wage an asymmetrical battle against established power structures. Ultimately, as Dell Upton has argued, this is not a conflict over monuments, but rather a conflict "over the values that we wish to endorse in the contemporary realm."[8] Understanding the processes by which values have been ascribed to the public landscape in the past will help inform the steps we take moving forward.

CONFEDERATE MONUMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

Confederate monuments on public land in the United States are the focus of this thesis, which were erected mainly following the period of Reconstruction, not only to memorialize the Confederacy per se, but as physical manifestations of power and the authoritarian regimes of whiteness. These monuments promoted the agendas of the descendants of Confederates and Confederate supporters, who were often white supremacists, pro-slavery supporters, and anti-Reconstructionists, who maintained political and social power during a moment in history when blacks were being granted further rights as citizens after the Civil War and into the following decades.

Power was expressed through these monuments in myriad ways, and represented the fraught politics of their time. Many of these issues continue to persist today, despite the fact that they have less to do with actual historical fact, and more to do with the collective memory of an idealized version of

[8] Upton, Dell, "Confederate Monuments and Civic Values in the Wake of Charlottesville," *Society of Architectural Historians Blog*, Sept. 13, 2017, Accessed online.

how Southerners chose to be remembered. Monuments not only memorialize those historic figures or soldiers who they literally depict, but, more importantly, the time in which they were constructed. In other words, although monuments depict particular figures from history (Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, Nathan Bedford Forrest), or anonymous and generic Confederate soldiers, they represent less the lives of these "people" and instead the values of those who erected them which is inextricably linked to the Lost Cause narrative that was created at this time. White Confederate sympathizers, reeling from the Confederate loss in the Civil War in multitudinous ways, chose to erect monuments for themselves that depicted their losing side in a glorified light, essentially conceiving of and propagating a myth that elevated not only their losing side, but the tenets and beliefs of that side, many of which were targeted against and held at the expense of black Americans.

The Civil War ended in 1865, with Reconstruction taking place until 1877, a period of time which saw the introduction of civil rights for blacks and the establishment of biracial state governments. This was also the period in which the white supremacist hate group, the Ku Klux Klan, was founded calling for the purification of American society, its members engaging in intimidation and attacks against those who were attempting to exercise their newfound rights. Reconstruction also saw the passing of the the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the United States Constitution,[9] in effect setting the stage for the rulings in the mid-20th century by the Supreme Court which ended school segregation, eventually leading to the civil rights movement. The Reconstruction period essentially ended when a compromise was made between North and South that brokered the removal of federal troops from the South in exchange for the election of Rutherford B. Hayes. Reconstruction is generally considered a failure, much of the South having suffering economically, as well as there being a resurgence in white supremacy and a return to policies directed against the nation's newly freed citizens. Historian Eric Foner argues, "What

[9] The 13th Amendment abolished slavery in the United States; the 14th Amendment granted citizenship to all persons born or naturalized in the United States; and the 15th Amendment granted African-American men the right to vote.

remains certain is that Reconstruction failed, and that for blacks its failure was a disaster whose magnitude cannot be obscured by the genuine accomplishments that did endure."[10] And for W. E. B. Du Bois, "The slave went free; stood a brief moment in the sun; then moved back again toward slavery."[11]

Following the era of Reconstruction were decades of Jim Crow segregation and oppression, which saw the proliferation of what have been termed "Confederate monuments," despite the fact that they were constructed and erected oftentimes many decades after the end of the Civil War. This period in American history coincided with the rise of the myth of the Lost Cause and the introduction of Jim Crow laws, which served to bolster white supremacy and the reduction of black Americans to the level of second-class citizens, including disenfranchisement and segregation. Through this idea of the Lost Cause, the South was able to construct for themselves a new history, or collective memory, regarding the events that took place both during and after the Civil War.

The Lost Cause narrative stated that it was a "noble endeavor fought to defend the region's honor and its ability to govern itself in the face of Northern aggression."[12] In other words, it shifted the focus of the Confederacy away from its foundation as pro-slavery to defending the cause of states' rights. Rather than accept that the Confederacy was a defeated party whose main ideologies were built around pro-slavery beliefs, the creators of the Lost Cause myth strove to create a more universally acceptable version of history. This myth persisted as the South attempted to create a "more acceptable version" of the region's past, revising history through the propagation of Confederate monuments and symbols.[13]

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[10] Foner, Eric, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877,* New York: Harper Perennial Modern Classics, 2014.

[11] Du Bois, W. E. Burghardt, *Black Reconstruction in America: An Essay Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880,* New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1935.

[12] Southern Poverty Law Center, "Whose Heritage? Public Symbols of the Confederacy," Southern Poverty Law Center, Accessed online.

[13] Ibid.

As of June 2018, the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) has identified over 1,700 of these monuments and symbols in the American public landscape and has traced their origins to two significant periods. While monuments to the Confederacy were dedicated starting immediately following the conclusion of Civil War, the first spike in their construction began just after 1900, several decades after Reconstruction as Southern states were "enacting Jim Crow laws to disenfranchise African Americans and re-segregate society….It lasted well into the 1920s, a period that also saw a strong revival of the Ku Klux Klan,"[14] and the rise of the paramilitary White League and the return of Democrats in control of state legislatures. This first spike represents the time in which the monuments analyzed in this thesis were constructed. The second period the SPLC has identified is that which began in the mid-1950s and lasted until the late 1960s, when the civil rights movement was well underway.

As the Southern Poverty Law Center notes, reputable historians and consulting well-documented history agree that the Confederacy was "established upon the premise of white supremacy and that the South fought the Civil War to preserve its slave labor. Its founding documents and its leaders were clear." [15] Confederate Vice President Alexander H. Stephens declared in his 1861 "Cornerstone speech," "Our new government is founded upon…the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery subordination to the superior race is his natural and normal condition."[16] In attempting to deal with their defeat in the war, the South sought a substitute myth—that of the Lost Cause. Rather than seeing the war for what it was and what outcomes it generated, Southerners found a way to depict the war as a great noble epic, in which the men and women on the Confederate side were on the correct side of history, and were courageous and valiant heroes. The Lost Cause was a skillful way for the South to reassert its control and power. Reconstruction advanced

[14] Southern Poverty Law Center, "Whose Heritage?"
[15] Ibid.
[16] Stephens, Alexander H., "Cornerstone Speech," delivered March 21, 1861, Accessible online via https://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/cornerstone-speech/.

integration, franchisement, and a new racial order, including a biracial government, that threatened white supremacy, and many were willing to do whatever it might take to restore white rule.

According to the Lost Cause narrative, "slavery was a benevolent institution that played little part in causing sectional conflict; the Confederacy rightfully and nobly fought only to defend 'states' rights' against northern invasion; during Reconstruction, Yankee aggressors, bent on destroying southern society, imposed negro domination upon a prostrate region."[17] As scholarship and historic literature have proven, none of this is factual. However, the myth was justification enough for "Lost Cause ideologues" to make their beliefs material through the construction of monuments, architecture, and tourist attractions; by "erecting commemorative sculpture and reviving antebellum architectural styles, southern elites lent authority to their version of the past and laid claim to the public landscapes of the present."[18]

Part of the creation of this myth was the deification of certain recently-deceased Confederate figures, such as Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson, who then served as the subjects for many of the erected monuments. Not only were these men easily identifiable and known to everyone in the country, both Northerners and Southerners, but they were easily heroicized and deified as potent symbols despite having lost the war. For example, Lee became the "flawless 'marble man' that generations of white Southerners would embrace as the symbol of the virtues of the Old South. Although Lee in life could be cold, testy, and stubborn, in death he became the perfect Christian gentlemen (sic), an idea husband, father, patriot, and military leader whose army lost only because it was numerically and materially overwhelmed."[19] These men's "behavior revealed virtues that could be

[17] Hillyer, Reiko, "Relics of Reconciliation: The Confederate Museum and Civil War Memory in the New South," *The Public Historian*, M. Christine Boyer, *Dreaming the Rational City*, Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1997, Vol. 33, No. 4., November 2011, p.37.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ross, Michael A., "The Commemoration of Robert E. Lee's Death and the Obstruction of Reconstruction in New Orleans," *Civil War History, Vol. 51, No. 2,* June 2005, p. 136.

extolled by Democrats and Republicans alike. Northerners and Southerners could join together to mourn a hero's passing."[20] The fact that so many monuments were erected to depict these men shows that they were characters whose stories could be manipulated into convincing heroic tales, thereby serving as tangible reminders of the Confederate cause. They also therefore operated as vehicles by which Southern Conservatives could show their lack of guilt for their pro-slavery stance or for what the Confederacy had done to the nation during the Civil War. As was written in a New Orleans city paper on the occasion of the unveiling of the Robert E. Lee Monument in that city in 1884, "by every appliance of literature and art, we must show all the coming ages that with us, at least, there dwells no sense of guilt."[21] These figural monuments played a role in both exalting the myth of the Lost Cause as well as acting as the centerpiece of community-orchestrated displays of grief over the deaths of these famous men, which served to add a level of somberness and validity to what they represented.

Those who used Confederate men as symbols were able to exert their will over the public sphere unchallenged, "without the voices of African Americans or even of most whites being heard."[22] The fact of the matter was that these monuments were the achievements of small private groups, which did not take into account the greater population's opinions. These monuments disguised but did not deny their origins in slavery—to monumentalize Lee and others as heroic figures shifted the narrative away from the Confederacy's true cause to protect slavery, but did not outright make a claim that that institution was wrong.

These monuments were seen as ideological compromises on the part of the North and its Republicans, as well as African American leaders in government, who saw them as minor concessions in the greater goal towards national unity. These types of commemorations promoted a "degree of white

[20] Ross, "The Commemoration of Robert E. Lee's Death," p. 140.
[21] New Orleans Historic District Landmark Commission, *Recommendation to the City Council on Removal of Monuments*, August 13, 2015.
[22] Upton, "Confederate Monuments and Civic Values."

cultural unity that had never existed in the region either before or during the Civil War," according to Brundage. This acceptance was seen as a small price to pay for overall political power over Southern Conservatives. Conservatives in the South had skillfully used these figures' deaths in furthering their cause, or, as Brundage goes on to note, "white Northerners agreed to tolerate the commemoration of Confederates."[23] Those who might question this narrative were at risk of ostracism or worse.

However, many northern and Republican whites would later regret allowing the introduction of this myth and its associated monuments into the American cultural landscape, "eventually recogniz(ing) that they had been manipulated and that the reasonable tones of the Conservatives had been a ruse. Rather than emphasize…postwar moderation, editors (of Southern publications) began celebrating their 'universally loved' hero's commitment to the 'Lost Cause.'"[24] After a period of time, disguising these monuments' true intent, in order to garner nationwide support, was no longer the mode of operation for monument supporters, instead they openly and publicly celebrated the values they were meant to represent.

In addition to the monuments fashioned to look like famous Confederates such as Lee, Jackson, and Forrest, the post-Reconstruction period also saw also the mass-production of anonymous Confederate statues. As Kirk Savage writes, the "generic physiognomy (of the common solider figure) was meant to condense the polyglot faces of the nation into a standard 'American' type," albeit a white type.[25] These monuments were "coming to honor not only the dead but the living veteran, who saw himself represented in the public statue of the soldier."[26] Most were designed as the "parade-rest soldier," a contrapposto figure of a young man, usually with an upright rifle, as if on guard duty.

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[23] Brundage, "I've Studied the History of Confederate Memorials."

[24] Ross, "The Commemoration of Robert E. Lee's Death," pp. 143-144.

[25] Savage, Kirk, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997, p. 162.

[26] Ibid.

Monument companies very successfully marketed these "common-soldier statues," as Savage has termed them, and they were highly lucrative, dotting the American landscape. These "cheap, idealized, and ready-made" [27] monuments conquered the American landscape and helped to rewrite and mass-produce history and the narrative of the Lost Cause. Savage has also explained these memorials as a way for their creators to "deflect attention from the issues of war to the abstractions of duty and valor."[28] In other words, they helped to support an assumption that the military and therefore military service is an unquestioned good no matter what the cause.[29]

These cheap mass-produced monuments were targeted for a larger market than the one-of-a-kind commissioned statues of famous men such as Lee and Jackson. Suddenly smaller cities, such as Demopolis, Alabama, were able to afford to purchase and erect their own Confederate monuments, as opposed to wealthier cities that could commission famous sculptors to create original works, often in bronze. As opposed to those specially-commissioned monuments, the "bulk of Confederate monuments were modest affairs, often purchased for a price between $1,500 to $3,000 directly from a commercial monument-making firm,"[30] but prices could go as low as "$450 for a life-size model, $750 for the 8 ½ jumbo version." Purchasing a mass-produced monument was, in essence, a one-stop shopping effort: upon ordering one of these monuments, prefabricated parts would arrive together with someone to assemble it.[31] By memorializing nameless and generalized Confederate heroes, as opposed to specific historic figures, supporters of the Lost Cause were able to get larger numbers of Americans to

[27] Edwards, Stassa, "Confederate Monuments Aren't History, They're a Cheap Cultural Memory," *Jezebel*, Aug. 15, 2017, Accessed online.
[28] Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves*, pp. 162-208.
[29] Upton, "Confederate Monuments and Civic Values."
[30] Mills, Cynthia and Pamela Simpson's *Monuments to the Lost Cause,* which was quoted in Edwards, Stassa, "Confederate Monuments Aren't History, They're a Cheap Cultural Memory," *Jezebel*, Aug. 15, 2017, Accessed online.
[31] Fisher, Marc, "Why Those Confederate Solider Statues Look a Lot Like their Union Counterparts," *The Washington Post,* Aug. 18, 2017.

rally behind them—these monuments' universal reference could be coopted by anyone, in any city, no matter its population or the size of its bank account.

Companies in the South, such as McNeel Marble Company in Marietta, Georgia, or the Muldoon Monument Company is Louisville, Kentucky, made these models available, but so did companies in the North, such as the Monumental Bronze Co. in Bridgeport, Connecticut, who also mass-produced these figures for Union supporters in "Union," as opposed to "Confederate," models. For these companies it was all just business and economics, rather than ideology or morality, and in fact both Union and Confederate models are often identical save for "C.S." (Confederate States) rather than "U.S." (United States) on the figures' belt buckle.[32] Eventually other details were modified to give the Confederate figures a more "Confederate" look, but by and large, these statues were indistinguishable from one another across the entire country.

Behind many of these actions and impulses to promote the Lost Cause and erect monuments in its name were many privately-run monument associations, including chapters of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, and women's groups such as the United Daughters of the Confederacy. The latter, for example, was founded in 1894, with the goal of spreading the "gospel of the Lost Cause."[33] Sponsors would raise the money for and commission the monuments. These groups in fact are generally regarded as the main promoters and advocates for these sites. But it should be noted that the locations they chose to coopt for these new monuments were public lands, and oftentimes public money was used to transform these sites, rather than through these organizations' own private means or fundraising.

[32] Fisher, "Why Those Confederate Solider Statues."
[33] Edwards, "Confederate Monuments Aren't History."

The sponsors' goals were often to depict slavery as benevolent and to glorify the common solider thorough a focus on military sacrifice, as Reiko Hillyer describes in her article, "Relics of Reconciliation: The Confederate Museum and Civil War Memory in the New South."[34] Military defeat was refashioned as moral victory. These groups attempted to vindicate the Lost Cause, and, because they did so via soft political means, were able to achieve their goals with less bureaucracy than a state or local government could have. For example, the Confederate Memorial Literary Society (CMLS), on which Hillyer focuses her article and which represents these private organizations working to further Lost Cause ideals, "recogniz(ed) that those who controlled historic objects would control historic interpretation."[35] In other words, they understood that monuments were the vehicles though which they could rewrite history, and how these objects operated and inhabited their sites transformed them into those instruments of change.

The fact that so many sponsors were groups of white women also speaks to this idea of soft power. During the Civil War, women banded together in associations in order to partake in ritual mourning activities for the dead, ensuring their husbands, sons, and brothers were buried properly. The next generation of "elite white southern women had organized the Daughters of the Confederacy. Extending their work and influence beyond memorializing the dead, their stated aim was to preserve and disseminate Confederate culture and the ideals of the Lost Cause. These women's organizations helped to ease white Southerners' adjustment to loss, shape the meaning of the Civil War for white Southerners, and transform the southern landscape though the systematic erection of monuments."[36] Thus, these groups were narrating public memory, and acted as servants or guardians to the Lost Cause.

[34] Hillyer, "Relics of Reconciliation," pp. 35-62.
[35] Ibid., p. 37.
[36] Ibid., p. 44.

For seven decades the United States witnessed Jim Crow segregation and the oppression of black Americans, with both laws written and physical campaigns waged against this portion of the population. During this time the legality of discrimination was upheld, and the KKK, among other white supremacists, openly terrorized the lives of blacks. Starting around the mid-1950s, and coinciding with the modern civil rights movement, the second spike began in what the SPLC identified as a major moment of Confederate monument proliferation. While none of the monuments discussed in this thesis were erected during this period, it is still worth noting that they already stood and remained a part of the public sphere until they came down after 2015.

Unfortunately, it may need pointing out that for many in the country the myth of the Lost Cause is still well and alive today. Although, as Dell Upton points out, "Most defenders (of the Confederate monuments) don't even know what the Lost Cause was."[37] Confusion persists between history and culturally-formed memory, with many still attempting to replace history with memory, or not understanding the difference. History contains the actual events that have occurred over time, while culturally-formed memory is the result of an interpretation of that history, often the byproduct of a purposeful and deliberate campaign by those in power to endorse particular narratives. In fact, many supporters of Confederate monuments may not even understand why they support them, or the fact that their opinion and memory has been swayed by the narratives ingrained in the physical landscape, whether or not the term "Lost Cause" is used at all.

[37] Upton, "Confederate Monuments and Civic Values."

Post Charleston and Charlottesville

For many decades critics objected to Lost Cause Confederate monuments. The fact that the conversation regarding their fates is currently being discussed in the American public realm does not imply that this a recent issue or discourse, but little had ever been done about it. However, highly public and publicized violent events that have taken place over the last few years have made the issue all the more conspicuous. On June 17, 2015, white supremacist Dylann Roof entered Emanuel A.M.E. Church in Charleston, South Carolina, and killed nine African-American parishioners who were partaking in a prayer group. Upon investigation, it was discovered that Roof's personal rhetoric was mired in the ideology of white supremacy, and his actions therefore cannot be divorced from white supremacy's deeper meaning and intentions. He, as well as other white supremacists, insisted on the continued use of the Confederate flag as a symbol of that ideology, as Ta-Nehisi Coates has noted.[38] Photos of Roof surfaced following the incident depicting him with the Confederate flag, including one in which he's holding the flag in one hand and a gun in the other.[39] Immediately a grassroots national movement was ignited calling for the removal of the Confederate flag from public spaces. Confederate monuments, like the flag, were also considered recognizable symbols associated with racism, white supremacy, and violence, and were eventually included in this call for removal as well.

As the SPLC had noted, "In what seemed like an instant, the South's 150-year reverence for the Confederacy was shaken."[40] Almost immediately following the Charleston massacre, people across the nation called for the removal of the Confederate flag from public spaces across the county, which led as well to people calling for Confederate monuments to be removed as well. People spoke openly about the fact that the myth of the Lost Cause was just that, a myth, but still it inspired the creation of these

[38] Coates, Ta-Nehisi, "Take Down the Confederate Flag—Now: The Flag that Dylann Roof Embraced, which Many South Carolinians Embrace, Endorses the Violence He Committed," The Atlantic, June 18, 2015, Accessed online.
[39] Southern Poverty Law Center, "Whose Heritage?"
[40] Ibid.

monuments. It was noted how Vice President of the Confederacy Alexander H. Stephen proclaimed in his 1861 "Cornerstone speech," "Our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite idea; its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests, upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery subordination to the superior race is his natural and normal condition. This, our new government, is the first, in the history of the world, based upon this great, physical, and moral truth."[41] Associations were pointed out that the belief system of the Confederacy, as epitomized in this historic speech, inspired Roof, who is not alone in this regard. The nation was asked to reflect on what these symbols were meant to do, and what they role they played in this contemporary moment in the United States when there was already growing concern over racial disparities as epitomized by the deaths of many unarmed African Americans at the hands of the police.[42]

Eventually South Carolina had the Confederate flag taken down from its State House grounds. This symbol is deeply associated with regional pride and heritage, despite its continued association with all that the Confederacy stood for as well as its perpetuated use as a symbol of Jim Crow, white supremacy, and racial violence. Thus it was not an easy decision of the part of South Carolina's then-governor Nikki Haley regarding what she should do, and in fact she initially supported leaving the flag up. Ultimately, however, she admitted the flag should never have been introduced to the site in 2000, and should instead be in a museum where history can be preserved and not in front of the State House. Haley had it removed in July 2015.

Former New Orleans Mayor Mitch Landrieu also publicly criticized the Confederacy for what it stood for in the wake of the Charleston events. In explaining his justification for why he had four public monuments removed from that city's public space in May 2017, he said, "These statues were a part of…terrorism as much as a burning cross on someone's lawn; they were erected purposefully to send a

[41] Stephens, "Cornerstone Speech."
[42] Southern Poverty Law Center, "Whose Heritage?"

strong message to all who walked in their shadows about who was still in charge in this city."[43] Landrieu was among the many leaders in jurisdictions across the nation that began to remove these monuments and symbols from the public landscape.

In August 2017, the discourse once again came to a head when, across two days, the city of Charlottesville, Virginia, was the site of a Unite the Right demonstration, which included Neo-Nazis, KKK members, including former KKK leader David Duke, and many other white supremacists. Many of these protesters wore military dress and openly carried weapons. They were there nominally to protest the city's plan to remove its monuments to Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson from public land. This rally was one many rallys that were held in the wake of Charleston by Confederate flag supporters (there were over 350 such rallies in the six months following Charleston alone).[44] The argument "Heritage, not Hate," was often used.

But the events in Charlottesville were sparked by a City Council vote to remove two Confederate monuments from public land, turning violent in one of the largest white supremacist rallies in decades. One counter-protester, Heather Heyer, was even killed when a man with ties to a white supremacist group, James Alex Fields, allegedly drove his car into a crowd of protesters. Nineteen more were injured during the same incident; there was little the police did to intervene. Like with the events in Charleston, what happened in Charlottesville fomented and accelerated the national conversation over the fate of the nation's Confederate monuments, especially as these more recent violent acts were brought about by certain groups' opposition to removal.

Since the massacre in Charleston, and as of June 2018, the SPLC has identified at least 110 monuments or other tributes to the Confederacy that have been removed by state or local

[43] Appelbaum, Yoni, "Take the Statues Down: A Multi-Ethnic Democracy Requires Grappling Honestly With the Past—and Recognizing the Symbols of the Confederacy for What They Are," *The Atlantic*, Aug. 13, 2017, Accessed online.
[44] Southern Poverty Law Center, "Whose Heritage?"

governments. Of this 110, forty-seven have specifically been monuments. But many of the over 1,700 remain due to their protection by state laws, some of which are the same laws that will be investigated in this thesis. And through the contemporary persistence of the myth of the Lost Cause, there are still many people in this country who support the existence of these monuments, clinging onto that myth and the revisionist history that has come about as a result of our nation's history.

These Charleston and Charlottesville events were so galvanizing because of how terrorizing they were, and how closely associated the acts of violence they contained were connected to the ideas of white supremacy that can be traced back to the Confederacy and its symbols. Therefore this subtext of violence in the monument debate needs to be addressed, because it is inextricably part of the same issue. In fact, the violence of injustice that we continue to witness today is part of the same issue as well. It is this subtext of violence, the threat to civic order, and the pushback against that violence, that actually got certain cities to go through with their monument removals. Because there was a threat to public safety in the way the monument controversies were playing out, especially evident in Charlottesville, mayors were motivated to use public safety clauses within their local preservation laws in order to protect their citizens from potential physical harm.

From a scholarly standpoint, Dell Upton and Kirk Savage essentially opened up the critical discourse on memorialization to include these Confederate monuments and sites in the American public landscape. For his part, Upton eloquently dispels some of the notions behind the monument debate in his piece "Confederate Monuments and Civil Values in the Wake of Charlottesville," published in September 2017, on the Society of Architectural Historians Blog. He argues, correctly, that the recent national discourse over its Confederate monuments is only the "most recent eruption of a long argument that goes back to the time of the Civil War," and that much of the current public debate is

"characterized by misconceptions, obfuscations, and misleading emphases that serve to confuse the issues." [45]

The SPLC has concluded, "Our public entities should no longer play a role in distorting history by honoring a secessionist government that waged war against the United States to preserve white supremacy and the enslavement of millions of people. It's past time for the South—and the rest of the nation—to bury the myth of the Lost Cause once and for all."[46] But as David A. Graham has noted in his ongoing coverage of this issue in *The Atlantic*, this debate, as well as "confederate lionization," continues in part because "no one agrees on its terms, much less what conclusions they dictate. Some defenders of the Confederacy continue to insist, incorrectly, that the war was fought over something other than slavery."[47]

Whatever the terms, that does not change the fact that these sites are public, and therefore are being maintained with taxpayer dollars, which today includes *all* Americans, despite the fact that certain communities might not endorse or otherwise support these sites. In Graham's words, "the erection of Confederate monuments has been a way to perform cultural resistance to black equity."[48] Once the myth of the Lost Cause is resisted and counter-memories advanced, it could be argued there is not much Confederate supporters have to stand on; slavery and white supremacy are generally considered reprehensible. The Confederate States of America "sought to defeat the United States within military means, killings hundreds of thousands of its citizens in its wake,"[49] for which they arguably should be held accountable for. The monuments that have given form to the Lost Cause myth, and the memories

[45] Upton, "Confederate Monuments and Civic Values."
[46] Southern Poverty Law Center, "Whose Heritage?"
[47] Graham, David A., "The Stubborn Persistence of Confederate Monuments: A New Report Identifies Some 1,500 Memorials to the Civil War's Losing Cause, From Schools to State Holidays, Ranging from the Deep South to the Pacific Northwest," *The Atlantic*, April 26, 2016, Accessed online.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Graham, David A., "The Stubborn Persistence of Confederate Monuments, Cont'd," *The Atlantic*, April 28, 2016, Accessed online.

that it created as well as the landscapes that it shaped are no longer representative of the values of the communities of Americans who must live with them. These sites are not neutral grounds. And they should not be considered valuable simply because they exist.

Though debates are ongoing regarding the removal of Confederate monuments, this thesis aims to consider the next steps, post-removal, in order to call attention to how the sites should be treated, assuming that they are the physical expression of culturally formed collective memory. While there is preservation work to be done in order to remove certain symbols from the public landscape, there is also work to be done that considers what should be built instead, who should make this decision, and how this should be carried out. Considering the fact that many of these monuments have already been removed, as in the particular cases analyzed in this thesis, we can look to the processes which have affected those sites in order to glean lessons for the many that are yet to be addressed. The collective memory of the nation, at least in terms of the value given to the memories of all people, has changed, and therefore the narratives at these sites need to change as well. As Julian Chambliss has written, "The lived experience that defines the modern United States requires the legacies and memories of all our people to inform the public square we inhabit."[50] The power structures have shifted, and the needs of those living in American contemporary landscapes have changed. This must be acknowledged in the way the sites communicate and perform moving forward. Oftentimes this will, and has, included the loss, tearing down, or destruction of physical monuments.

So, what is to be done with these sites of power and the monuments that have thus far been removed? These considerations have not yet played a major role in the discourse, but are what this thesis intends to unpack. Confederate monuments points to a deep history, but they are all active and evolving sites affecting the collective memories of the public in multiple ways.

[50] Chambliss, Julian, "Don't Call Them Memorials," *Frieze*, Aug. 23, 2017, Accessed online.

CASE STUDY SITES AND METHODOLOGY

Methodologically speaking, this thesis is an exploratory, relational, and comparative study of five cases, in which a contentious monument has been removed. I seek to evaluate these sites to better understand how to approach what is done to these sites post-removal. Although these case studies share certain similarities, the processes and specifics of intervention at each site are unique and different enough to be able to draw conclusions regarding the various methods of intervention. Each site is significant in and of itself, but also within the context of each of the others as well. As a whole these five cases can inform the larger field of preservation in terms of how the field addresses its approach to dealing with the nation's Confederate monuments, contentious sites, or landscapes of memory. The extensive and concentrated analyses of each of these chosen locations will give preservationists a platform on which they might better handle other sites like these in more constructive and inclusive ways, helping to advance the local and national conversations around how we want to handle these controversial sites.

The criteria I have used to determine these particular case studies includes the following:

- These sites are all on public land.
- These sites are all contentious.
- These sites have all been the location of contentious monuments.
- These sites and monuments are all representative of Lost Cause ideologies.
- These sites were all sponsored, if not paid for, by private interest groups.
- Contentious statues that were part of these sites and monuments have been removed either consciously or accidentally.
- The removals of these statues were all done in the wake of the events in Charleston, and/or Charlottesville.

- Physical interventions at these sites have ensued both in the lead up to- and post-removal of their physical fabric.
- These sites, at the time of, or just prior to, the statue removals, were controlled by local governmental bodies.

Further, despite the fact that much of the action taking place at these sites is relatively recent history, each of these sites has been reported on and written about to a high enough degree providing a certain level of access so that it was possible to research, write, and analyze all of them to a more or less equal degree. It was possible to create both a spatial and a process-driven analysis of each of the five sites, with a consideration of their individual legal and political frameworks—I have looked at both the physical sites and the objects that occupy that space, as well as the procedures, mechanisms, and laws that have dictated what interventions have taken place there.

The specific and local context surrounding each monument is unique, which allowed me to isolate and analyze certain distinct aspects of the monument problem per site as well. These primarily include: levels of democratic and public participation, counter-monuments, the manipulation of preservation law, and accidental or illegal removal. It is these traits which influenced my selection and that provide the primary points of their evaluations. However in addition to these parameters, the five case studies also consider the sites' history, specific design, and the types of processes and interventions present, including both top-down and grassroots action. Each case offers a particular way a local community addressed each of these categories, as well as a varying set of strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats, by which it can be evaluated in order to come to some conclusions and to inform shared practices that might help inform future work being done with other contentious sites.

These case studies are not discussed in chronological order, but rather in a logical thematic sequence. However, as history is a chronology, for reference here are the five case studies listed in

order of the date that their statue was removed, as well as the dates of the events in Charleston and Charlottesville for historic context:

- **Charleston massacre**: Wednesday, June 17, 2015
- Demopolis: Saturday, July 16, 2016
- New Orleans: Wednesday, May 17, 2017
- **Charlottesville riots**: Friday-Saturday, August 11-12, 2017
- Durham: Monday, August 14, 2017
- Baltimore: Wednesday, August 16, 2017
- Memphis: Wednesday, December 20, 2017

The research done for this thesis includes both primary and secondary source analysis. The former includes both historic documents as well as contemporary media coverage. The latter includes academic as well as media source analysis. Due to the fact that this history is so recent, much of my research centered on the coverage of these sites in newspapers and other media sources. However, there is a body of well-established scholarly literature on subjects related to the issues being explored in this thesis, which gave me a strong foundation from which to work. This is an ongoing discourse, events are still unfolding, and these sites are being actively contested today, so even by the time this thesis will have concluded, there may be further developments which propel these issues even further in certain directions.

This thesis will analyze the actions and interventions that have taken place at and in regards to these sites, but will not attempt to suggest how or why any of these case studies may have been "successful." Not only is it too early to tell what some of the greater outcomes of certain interventions at these sites might be, this thesis does not claim to present "success." Rather, it points to processes

that better allow communities to determine for themselves what should be done with these sites moving forward.

What this thesis does do is carry on the national discourse around the meanings and unequal power structures attached to contentious Confederate monuments and sites, which was revitalized after Charleston and Charlottesville. It does so through new methods of research that rely on material not often located in traditional archives, thereby changing the landscape of preservation. Researching historically repressed narratives, together with the contemporary and ongoing natures of these debates, required mining local and historical newspapers, including black newspapers, websites, contemporary journals, news and radio programs, city commission reports, and Twitter for information, as these stories are not found in traditional archives. Such approaches help to pluralize architectural history and preservation practice and to surface previously untold narratives.

The chapters are organized as follows:

Literature Review

In Chapter Two I explore the foundational scholarship which has informed this thesis. The literature covered here spans the more metaphysical and abstract theories of history, collective memory, monuments, and the production of public space. It will also address the work of contemporary scholars who have explored similar themes but more within the context of the specific subject areas that this thesis is focused on, namely identity, race, vernacular landscapes, heritage, civic values, and the cultural landscape. Other scholars have written very specifically on Confederate issues and social and cultural politics in America and the American South. Finally, the current media landscape is replete with many authors who have contributed enormously to the specific issue of Confederate monuments today. It should be noted, however, that while the overall discourse over Confederate monuments has spent

much of its energy on the debate over whether certain monuments should be left to stand or should be removed, there has been noticeably less written on what should happen to the sites themselves post-removal, and how and why these landscapes need to be considered to the same degree as the monuments.

Case Study Chapters

In each of the five the case study chapters I look directly at the sites and their monuments to more closely analyze these contentious sites through a zoomed-in local lens that allows me to explore a different aspect of the monument problem in each. The issues explored include levels of democratic and public participation, counter-monuments, the manipulation of preservation law, and accidental or illegal removal.

Conclusion

Some questions that will be addressed through this work include: How might these sites be addressed when they represent such strong and opposing viewpoints of citizens both here and now, as well as those from the past whose histories to some degree are dependent on remembrance of certain narratives? Why aren't solutions as to what to do with the sites more integrated into the initial discourses over monument removal? How much work is being done in conjunction with the city government, or, conversely, with the public? To what degree does the law dictate intervention? What values are under discussion, and are being touted by which parties? How are local governments allowing communities to inform their decisions? What is the general feeling among the community regarding the actions and interventions that have taken place on site thus far?

The analysis in this thesis is based both on the physical and spatial characteristics of the sites, as well as the processes and politically-driven actions that have taken place there. Based on this analysis of the contemporary events and local politics surrounding these specific contentious sites, the conclusion will reveal certain shared processes and practices that can help inform how other similar sites might be addressed or dealt with in the future. It will suggest ways communities might navigate through these processes on a path towards healing.

CHAPTER TWO

A Review of Literature on Commemoration, Memory, Spatial Politics, Monument, Race, & their Intersection

At its core, this thesis is a modern-day exploration into the practices of commemoration and memory. Additionally, it is about the production of public urban space, and how that space gets reinterpreted over time. This thesis also looks to the literature of culture, cultural landscapes, and critical race theory. As Dell Upton writes in his preface to the volume *Sites of Memory: Perspectives on Architecture and Race,* edited by Craig E. Barton (2001):

> "the sites we choose to commemorate and the ways we interpret them also owe much to the evolution of academic studies of the American landscape in the second half of the twentieth century. Scholarship usually takes its cue from popular culture, and the opening up of American society in the popular and political realms led to a corresponding broadening of scholarly vision. Scholars began to be interested in the way the built environment reflected human culture. Prompted by the populism of the 1960s, this new generation of scholars no longer understood culture as a unitary thing: they understood their task to be the story of American cultures, not American *culture*, of American minds, not the American *mind.*"[51]

This thesis is written with this body of scholarship in mind as it attempts to make sense of a particular relationship between race, culture, and landscape, especially as it has become increasingly under

[51] Barton, Craig Evan, *Sites of Memory: Perspectives on Architecture and Race*, 1st ed., New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2001, p. xi.

scrutiny following the events in Charleston and Charlottesville. It acknowledges that "memorials are part of a larger movement to redefine the nature of American society by re-viewing and re-imagining the historic landscape—by reconstructing memory."[52] These five contentious sites must be looked as both historic and contemporary stages upon which the discourses between race, culture, landscape, and memory have played, and will continue to play, out.

To put this work in greater perspective, it is critical to acknowledge some of the many scholars who have tackled these themes previously. The following represent some of the work which has informed my own.

The French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs was among the first to critically look at what he termed "collective memory," and argued that all memory is part of a social process shaped by the groups to which an individual belongs. In *The Collective Memory*, first published in French in 1950, Halbwachs writes, "Don't we believe that we relive the past more fully because we no longer represent it alone, because we see it now as we saw it then, but through the eyes of another as well? Our memories remain collective, however, and are recalled to us through others even though only we were participating in the events or saw the things concerned."[53] As such, it is through a series of interwoven relationships and social groups that we recall history collectively; collective memory is "constructed."

American historian Michael Kammen further considers collective memory, but from an American perspective, in his 1991 work, *The Mystic Chords of Memory*. Kammen discusses to what extent the American collective memory has been manufactured and distorted, which he argues is reconstructed and manipulated in order to serve contemporary needs. He writes,

[52] Barton, *Sites of Memory*, p. viii.

[53] Halbwachs, Maurice, *The Collective Memory*, 1st ed., Harper Colophon Books, New York: Harper & Row, 1980, p. 23.

> "If collective memory (usually a code phrase for what is remembered by the dominant civic culture) and popular memory (usually referring to ordinary folks) are both abstractions that have to be handled with care, what (if anything) can we assert with assurance? That public interest in the past pulses; it comes and goes. That we have highly selective memories of what we have been taught about the past. That the past may be mobilized to serve partisan purposes. That the past is commercialized for the sake of tourism and related enterprises. That invocations of the past (as tradition) may occur as a means of resisting change *or* of achieving innovations. That history is an essential ingredient in defining national, group, and personal identity. That the past and its sustaining evidence may give pleasure for purely aesthetic and non-utilitarian reasons. And finally, that individuals and small groups who are strongly tradition-oriented commonly seek to stimulate a shared sense of the past within their region…, their ethnic group…, their denomination…, or even their entire nation."[54]

Collective memory is not a stable concept, and shifts depending on what we've been taught about the past. It can be used for political, economic, and social means.

The French scholar, Pierre Nora, entered the conversation about memory, writing about what he termed "lieux de memoire," or sites of memory, which play an extremely critical role in modern society because of the lack of "milieux de memoire," or real environments of memory. These lieux de memoire become symbolic elements in a community's collective memory as a result of human will or effort, such as by governments or special-interest groups, and can often homogenize a wider variety of memories. As societies place more importance in these lieux de memoire, the effect is that there arises one collective memory, rather than many individual memories and one history. In *Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire (1989),* Nora writes

[54] Kammen, Michael, *Mystic Chords of Memory*, New York: Knopf, 1991, p. 10.

> "Memory and history, far from being synonymous, appear now to be in fundamental opposition. Memory is life, borne by living societies founded in its name. It remains in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unconscious of its successive deformations, vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation, susceptible to being long dormant and periodically revived. History, on the other hand, is the reconstruction, always problematic and incomplete, of what is no longer. Memory is a perpetually actual phenomenon, a bond tying us to the eternal present; history is a representation of the past. Memory…only accommodates those facts that suit it."[55]

In other words, societies value these "sites of memory" because individual memory no longer exists. Due to ruptures that occur with the past, societies are forced to create self-conscious pursuits for remembrance and memory in the lieux de memoire. For example, industrialization in France led to people seeking collective memory in French peasant culture, as that was the part of society that had been recently replaced. History, on the other hand, is the self-conscious means which with modern societies organize their past in order not to forget in the face of change.

In a similar vein, David Lowenthal, in his 1985 book *The Past is a Foreign Country*, writes about how modern societies must aggressively attempt to resurrect the past because is has disappeared from living culture. He writes, "Besides enhancing an acceptable present, the past offers alternatives to an unacceptable present. In yesterday we find what we miss today. And yesterday is a time for which we have no responsibility and when no one can answer back."[56]

Austrian art historian and philosopher Alois Riegl has a role to play in this discourse, as evidenced though his writings on the meaning of monuments and their historical development. His seminal work, *The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origins,* was written in 1928. Riegl

[55] Nora, Pierre, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux De Memoire," *Representations* 26, (1989), p. 8.
[56] Lowenthal, David, *The Past is a Foreign Country—Revisited,"* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

argued that ideas of beauty changed over time, and thus it was impossible or wrong to judge a piece of artwork on contemporary notions of beauty. Instead, one, such as a historian, should judge a work based on its relative value within the overall development of art. A piece of art, an object, or a monument or memorial therefore might have a particular commemorative value (e.g. art-value, historical value, or intentional commemorative value), or present-day value (e.g. use-value, or art value). Additionally, he wrote about "intentional" monuments, whose primary function it is to keep memory alive, thereby transcending time and the ages, versus "unintentional" monuments, a creation of the west, which embodies meaning based on the viewer. Riegl would argue that there is a relativity of meanings in terms of which values should take precedence.

Michel-Rolph Trouillot's work has investigated how certain members or groups of society have control over the way history is told at the exclusion of other groups. Through the lens of Haiti, Trouillot makes the claim that the narrative of history and its production as we understand it is largely influenced by those in power. As he writes in *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (1995), the "production of historical narratives involves the uneven contribution of competing groups and individuals who have unequal access to the means for such production….History is the fruit of power, but power is never so transparent that its analysis becomes superfluous. The ultimate mark of power may be its invisibility; the ultimate challenge, the exposition of its roots."[57] There is a difference between what actually happened, and what is said to have happened in the past, and we should be aware of this difference, especially as it point to the asymmetrical power structures latent in history.

In 1937, Lewis Mumford wrote *The Death of the Monument,* in which he argued that monuments were not necessarily monumental because they were built as such, but because they are viewed as such. Monuments also should not just be revered objects, but rather should be used for real

[57] Trouillot, Michel-Rolf, *Silencing the Past: The Power and the Production of History*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1995, p. xix.

social needs, such as education. He wrote, "The very notion of a modern monument is a contradiction in terms: if it is a monument, it cannot be modern, and if it is modern, it cannot be a monument."[58] He went on, "if the city is to escape being a museum, what belongs to the past must either be put into a museum or be transformed as a whole into a museum—set aside; put to the special uses of education *but no longer lived in*."[59] If we assume that his argument is correct, then it suggests that monuments need to be reconsidered in a contemporary light—traditional models will not do for serving their communities. However, those same traditional models can be used to help educate.

The work of James E. Young has played a significant role in the discourse on memory, counter-memory, and monuments. He has questioned how societies remember, or how they should remember, and stresses that sites of remembrance depend on the public for their meaning. He has argued that through monument building, societies are allowed to forget the past. In a 1999 *Harvard Design Magazine* article, Young wrote, "It is as if once we assign monumental form to memory, we have to some degree divested ourselves of the obligation to remember."[60] And in 2003, he followed up on this argument: "Instead of searing memory into public consciousness…conventional memorials seal memory off from awareness altogether; instead of embodying memory, they find that memorials may only displace memory…to the extent that we encourage monuments to do our memory work for us, we become that much more forgetful…the initial impulse to memorialize events like mass murder may actually spring from an opposite and equal desire to forget them."[61] While there is no single solution for memorializing a past that we never knew firsthand, Young also believes that monument-making is an active and living process, and one that is never complete because its meaning will continually shift and

[58] Mumford, Lewis, "The Death of the Monument," *Circle: International Survey of Constructive Art,* London: Faber and Faber, 1937, p. 264.
[59] Ibid., p. 267.
[60] Young, James E., "Memory and Counter Memory," *Harvard Design Magazine,* Issue 9, fall, 1999.
[61] Young, "Memory/Monument."

change depending on who the public is that is interpreting it. Young makes a strong case for "countermonuments," such as an invisible monument or one that gradually disappeared over time, which "pit themselves squarely" against attempts to build national memorials, to "return the burden of memory to those who come looking for it."[62] These countermonuments flout memorial conventions with the aim "not to console but to provoke; not to remain fixed but to change; not to be everlasting but to disappear; not to be ignored by its passersby but to demand interaction; not to remain pristine but to invite its own violation; not to accept graciously the burden of memory but to throw it back at the town's feet."[63]

In response to Young, art historian Thomas Stubblefield has explored further this idea of the counter-monument. In his 2011 essay, "Do Disappearing Monuments Simply Disappear? The Counter-monument in Revision," he warns against current trends in monument design to be ephemeral or impermanent, etc.—this does not necessarily mean that a monument is absent of its underlying historical hierarchical narratives. He also discusses the idea that monuments solidify established views of the past. He writes that a monument must be understood "as enmeshed in a social space that is itself formed in part by its discourse. Without this distinction, the work comes to assume the status of an autonomous object whose design or authorial intention determines its fate."[64] Sites of counter-monuments both reaffirm a remembered past and their creators' authority. Therefore the counter-monument may fall back on a type of formalism allowing the site to once again become the origin of meaning.

[62] Young, James E., *At Memory's Edge,* New Haven, Yale University Press, 2000, p. 53 and p. 97.
[63] Ibid., pp.7-8.
[64] Stubblefield, Thomas, "Do Disappearing Monuments Simply Disappear? The Counter-Monument in Revision," *Future Anterior*, vol. 8, no. 2, 2011, p. 2.

There has been much written in the last few decades on the production of public urban space, and how that space gets reinterpreted over time. Additionally, many scholars have addressed culture, cultural landscapes, and critical race theory as well.

Henri Lefebvre's work informs this thesis in terms of his arguments regarding the production of space, which he argues is a social product, or social construction, which affects social practices and perceptions, and therefore capitalism itself. The production of space is led by a hegemonic class in order to assert its control. In his essay "The Right to the City," Lefebvre writes, "The *right to the city* cannot be conceived of as a simple visiting right or as a return to traditional cities. It can only be formulated as a transformed and renewed *right to urban life*."[65] And in his 1979 essay "Social Product and Use Value," he argues that "production no longer occurs merely *in* space; instead, space is itself now being produced in and through the process of capitalist development."[66] Therefore, public space cannot be divorced from capitalism, and in fact is of capitalism. What social relations are thus produced through the sociospatial configurations of capitalism? Lefebvre claims that "Turning the world 'back on its feet,' according to Marx, implies overturning dominant spaces, placing appropriation over domination, demand over command, and use over exchange…In the transformed space, there can and must be a redefinition of the relations between productive activities and the return to the internal market, oriented deliberately towards issues of space. It is a space as a whole that would be redefined, that would bring about a conversion and subversion."[67]

More recently, David Harvey's work has built upon Lefebvre's, speculating that public space is never neutral or objective. He continues to consider the social production of space in order to

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[65] Lefebvre, Henri, "The Right to the City," Chapter 14 in *Writings on Cities*, trans. Eleonre Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas, 1996, p. 158.
[66] Lefebvre, Henri, "Space: Social Product and Use Value," Chapter 8 in *State, Space, and World: Selected Essays*, ed. and trans. Gerald Moore, Neil Brenner and Stuart Elden, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009, p. 185.
[67] Ibid., p. 194.

understand how power works in spatial resource distribution and representation. In his 2008 essay entitled "The Right to the City," Harvey writes, "The question of what kind of city we want cannot be divorced from that of what kind of social ties, relationship to nature, lifestyles, technologies and aesthetic values we desire. The right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city. It is, moreover, a common rather than an individual right since this transformation inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanization. The freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves is, I want to argue, one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights."[68] And in the same essay, published in his collection *Rebel Cities* in 2012, he says, "To claim the right to the city in the sense I mean here is to claim some kind of shaping power over the processes of urbanization, over the ways in which our cities are made and remade, and to do so in a fundamental and radical way. From their very inception, cities have arisen through geographical and social concentration of a surplus product. Urbanization has always been, therefore, a class phenomenon of some sort, since surpluses have been extracted from somewhere and from somebody, while control over the use of the surplus typically lies in the hands of a few."[69]

M. Christine Boyer's work investigates how individual and collective memory embedded in the American urban landscape can be harnessed to revitalize the public realm. In her 1994 book, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments,* Boyer is particularly interested in the creation of "meaningful and imaginative public spaces"[70] She makes a claim that the "contemporary arts of city building are derived from the perspective of white, middle-class architectural planning professionals who worry in a depoliticized fashion about a city's competitive location in the

[68] Harvey, David, "The Right to the City," *New Left Review*, No. 53, 2008, p. 23.
[69] Harvey, David, "The Right to the City," *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution*, New York: Verso, 2012, p. 5.
[70] Boyer, M. Christine, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994, p. 7.

global restructuring capital, and thus myopically focus on improving a city's marketability by enhancing its imageability, livability, and cultural capital."[71] She believes that these spaces can be remade via community participation to more fully reflect the collective whole, and that the "public realm of the City of Collective Memory should entail a continuous urban topography, a spatial structure that covers both rich and poor places, honorific and humble monuments, permanent and ephemeral forms, and should include places for public assemblage and public debate, as well as private memory walks and personal retreats."[72] This hopefully would result in a more open and just society.

Similarly, in *The Power of Place* (1995), Dolores Haden also posits that history and collective memory have value to add in terms of urban planning. Community consciousness is shaped by mainstream interpretations of the past, which largely are absent of the narratives of people of color, women, and other marginalized groups. She writes "The power of place—the power of ordinary urban landscapes to nurture citizens' public memory, to encompass shared time in the form of shared territory—remains untapped for most working people's neighborhoods in most American cities, and for most ethnic history and most women's history. The sense of civic identity that shared history can convey is missing. And even bitter experiences and fights communities have lost need to be remembered—so as not to diminish their importance."[73] Later she goes on: "An inclusive public history, rooted in the struggles over the urban landscape, must attempt to deal in a serious way with issues like slavery, internment, deportation, and economic exploitation, as well as prosperity…It is the controversial history America needs to reclaim as our own, in order to give meaning to the contradictory urban landscapes of cities today, where wealth and neglect, success and frustration, often appear side by side."[74]

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[71] Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory*, pp. 4-5.
[72] Ibid., p. 9
[73] Hayden, Dolores, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*, Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1997, pp. 9-11.
[74] Ibid., p. 96.

In their Introduction to the volume *The Politics of Public Space* from 2006, Neil Smith and Setha Low discuss the various spatial scales of public space, and their range. "Public space" neither necessarily refers to the concept of the public, nor refers to one sort of public space (e.g. a park). Instead, public space means that area in and of the public realm which has been socially produced as a result of "intense political struggle," and is an "object of historical change."[75] In other words, public space is an effect of both time and space. To understand this then in terms of the varying scales of public space, because it is born of political struggle and historical change, the circumstances in which it is produced can vary widely, thus allowing a myriad of scales to exist as well, from, say, the microscale of that public park, to the macroscale of the Internet or even national governments.

Considering the modern city today, Stephen Graham writes about cities being more than just the backdrop or an environment for war and terror. Rather, cities he claims are in fact targets: cities' "buildings, assets, institutions, industries, and infrastructures; their cultural diversities and symbolic meanings have long actually *themselves* been the explicit target for a wide range of deliberate, orchestrated attacks."[76] The has led to state-sponsored "legitimized" clearance of land in the city, all in the name of "decay eradication, modernization, improvement, ordering, economic competition, or facilitating technological change and capital accumulation and speculation."[77] Thus there is an inseparability in the consciousness of the city between war, terror, "place annihilation," and public space.

Geographer Don Mitchell's work also hearkens back to Lefebvre, claiming the city's public space is a participatory space. He argues that rights matter, and so does the law: "Social justice, rights, and

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[75] Smith, Neil and Setha Low, "Introduction: The Imperative of Public Space," in *The Politics of Public Space*, New York: Routledge, 2006, p. 7.
[76] Graham, Stephen, "Cities as Strategic Sites: Place Annihilation and Urban Geopolitics," *Cities, War, and Terrorism: Towards and Urban Geopolitics*, Blackwell Publishing, 2004, p. 32.
[77] Ibid., p. 33.

their relationship to urban space…are not determined in the abstract, but rather in practice…I try to show how specific social struggles over public space (and the assertion of rights therein) lead to transformations of public space law as courts seek to either adjudicate or eliminate conflict."[78]

In 1960, Kevin Lynch published *The Image of the City*, in which he theorized that all those who live in a city create a mental map of their surroundings. He writes, "Nothing is experienced by itself, but always in relation to its surroundings, the sequences of events leading up to it, the memory of past experiences…Every citizen has had long associations with some part of the city, and his image is soaked in memories and meanings…While (a city) may be stable in general outlines for some time, it is ever changing in detail. Only partial control can be exercised over its growth and form. There is no final result, only a continuous succession of phases."[79] The idea that city-dwellers create these maps is critical to how they then read the spaces in which they live, including sites of monuments.

More recently several historians have been writing significantly on the memory of war and race relations, as well as the democratization of war memorials and commemoration.

Kirk Savage's work explores public monuments within the context of collective memory and identity, and race relations, often specifically within a post-Civil War context. In his essay "The Politics of Memory: Black Emancipation and the Civil War Monument," from 1992, he writes

> "public monuments perpetuated memory in *external* deposits, located not within the people but within its shared public space. The increasing tendency in the nineteenth-century to construct memory in physical monuments—to inscribe it on the landscape itself—seems symptomatic of an increasing anxiety about memory left to its own devices. Monuments served to anchor collective remembering, a process dispersed, ever changing, and ultimately intangible, in highly

[78] Mitchell, Don, *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space*, New York: The Guilford Press, 2003, p. 6.
[79] Lynch, Kevin, *The Image of the City*, Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1960, pp. 1-2.

> condensed, fixed, and tangible sites. Monuments embodied and legitimated the very notion of a common memory, and by extension the notion of the people who possessed and rallied around such a memory."[80]

In *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America*, published several years later in 1997, Savage continues this line of thinking, discussing how public monuments erected during the nineteenth-century told the story of slavery and how this institution embodied national struggles over race and collective memory. He makes the case that the monuments of this era reflected deep racial, political, and social rifts, "the black body melt(ing) back into invisibility."[81]

Finally, in his 2016 essay, *The Unknowable Dead: The Civil War and the Origins of Modern Commemoration,* Savage is still questioning what the work of the memorial actually is; how does it function, and for whom, and how does history work at these sites? He argues, "it was the task of commemoration to…fix identity in place. The phenomenal spread of the common-soldier monument after the Civil War largely accomplished this by chaining the identity of the dead to the service of the nation….this connection seemed to expand their agency outward to near cosmic proportions, but in fact commemoration impoverished their selfhood and reduced the complex texture of their social networks, that which made them human. The most artful of these monuments…continue to make this reductive, inhumane idea of national sacrifice appealing, even enchanting. In so doing, they leave a legacy that makes war harder than ever, it seems, to eradicate from our world."[82] These common solider-statues were a way of deflecting attention from the issues of war to the "abstractions of duty and valor."[83]

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[80] Savage, Kirk, "The Politics of Memory: Black Emancipation and the Civil War Monument," *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, Gillis, John R., ed., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994, p. 130.
[81] Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves*, p. 88.
[82] Savage, Kirk, "The Unknowable Dead: The Civil War and the Origins of Modern Commemoration," *The Civil War in Art and Memory,* ed. Kirk Savage, Washington: National Gallery of Art, New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2016, pp. 98.
[83] Upton, "Confederate Monuments and Civic Values."

Dell Upton is another historian writing on vernacular American landscapes, with a focus on monuments, heritage and memory, and civic values. In "The Political Iconography of Sacred Ground: History and Redevelopment in Birmingham's Civil Rights District," Upton states "While monuments and memorials seek to activate or legitimize memory, they are limited by the resolutely individual nature of memory and the consequent unpredictability of the responses monuments can invoke."[84] And in his own response to the events in Charlottesville, he attempted to straighten the record of truth in terms of what was at stake in the current Confederate monument controversy. Included in his argument are five points: 1. This is not a question of preserving or erasing history; 2. This is not a debate about commemoration of the Civil War per se; 3. This is not ultimately a conflict over monuments; 4. This is not a controversy about art or its censorship; and 5. This is not a discussion of the destruction of monuments."[85] He argues that "whatever the disposition of the Confederate monuments, it seems clear that for reasons of justice, equity, and civic values, they must first of all be removed from civic space. Their white-supremacist character is more important than their age, their aesthetic quality, or any other attributes that are offered in their defense. After they are gone from the public sphere, then we can take time to discuss their fates on a case-by-case basis."[86]

Historian W. Fitzhugh Brundage has also written extensively on the subject of the American history since the Civil War, particularly in the South, including race, memory, monuments, and their cultural landscape. In his book, *The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory*, from 2005, Brundage argues that the struggles and controversies between blacks and whites since the Civil War over the public landscape are "ultimately about who has the power to determine what we remember of the past, and whether that remembrance will honor all Southerners or only select groups."[87] He too makes a

[84] Upton, Dell, "The Political Iconography of Sacred Ground: History and Redevelopment in Birmingham's Civil Rights District," *Portraits of the City: Dublin and the Wider World*, ed. Gillian O'Brien and Finola O'Kane, Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012, p. 208.
[85] Upton, "Confederate Monuments and Civic Values."
[86] Ibid.
[87] Brundage, W. Fitzhugh, *The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory*, 2005, jacket copy.

point of the fact that "Collective memory…should not be mistaken for an 'objective record of the past…Many pressing concerns about personal and regional identity, social interaction, and the exercise of power in the American South depend on an understanding of how the recalled past has been woven into southern life and institutions,'"[88] including its monuments. More recently, in the wake of Charlottesville, Brundage has weighed in on what to do about the Confederate monuments and their sites, asking us to acknowledge that "the architectural landscapes we have inherited are neither sacred nor unchanging."[89] They are both flawed, representing the will of those who created them, but also therefore allowed to be reinterpreted and recontextualized. In fact, they need to re readdressed and should be changed. Therefore "Whereas the current commemorative landscape of the South is a product of white privilege and power, the future landscape should be crafted after inclusive public debate and through democratic procedures."[90]

Others who have been writing on similar subjects related to memory and public space, memory and commemoration, monuments, the urban landscape, identity, and race are Lucia Allais, Craig Evan Barton, Reiko Hillyer, Steven Hoelscher, Andreas Huyssen, Hillary Jenks, Rudy Koshar, Ethan J. Kytle and Blain Roberts, Eugene J. McCann, Partha Mitter, Gregory W. Streich, Martia Sturken, Karen Till, and Mabel O. Wilson.

Historian James W. Loewen has looked at the commemorative American landscape, and revealed the deliberate distortions and errors that have gone into the creation of well-known historic sites. In *Lies Across America: What Our Historic Sites Get Wrong*, from 1999, Loewen notes that "Americans like to remember only the positive things, and communities like to publicize the great things that happened to them," which is understandable.[91] But he also says that racism is a result of this

[88] Brundage, *The Southern Past*, p. 4, p. 11.
[89] Brundage, "I've Studied the History of Confederate Memorials."
[90] Ibid.
[91] Loewen, James W., *Lies Across America: What Our Historical Sites Get Wrong*, New York: The New Press, 1999, p. 15.

impulse: “People who put up markers and monuments and preserve historic houses are usually pillars of the white community…Americans still live in a landscape of white supremacy. Especially in the South, but all across America…markers, monuments, and names on the landscape glorify those who fought to keep African Americans in chains as well as those who after Reconstruction worked to make them second-class citizens again.”[92] Additionally, there is “warped” language at historic sites, the matter of who gets memorialized or not, and an avoidance at historical sites of negative or controversial facts altogether, or a tendency to poorly explain certain stories. As he notes, “America has ended up with a landscape of denial,”[93] and “historic sites area always a tale of two eras.”[94]

Loewen also supplies “Ten Questions to Ask as a Historic Site,” for visitors, enabling them to better critique those historic sites. These questions also proved invaluable while researching the case studies explored more deeply in this thesis. They include:

> 1. When did this site become a historic site? (When was the marker or monument put up? or the house "interpreted"?) How did that time differ from ours? from the time of the event or person commemorated?
>
> 2. Who sponsored it? Representing which participant group's point of view? What was their position in social structure when the event occurred? When the site went "up?"
>
> 3. Why? What were their ideological needs and social purposes when the site went "up?" What were their values?
>
> 4. Who was/is the intended audience for the site? What values were they trying to leave for us, today? What does the site ask us to go and do?

[92] Loewen, *Lies Across America*, p. 16.
[93] Ibid., p. 19.
[94] Ibid., p. 36.

5. Did they have government support? At what level? Who was ruling the government at the time? What ideological arguments were used to get the government to acquiesce?

6. Who is left out? What points of view go largely unheard? How would the story differ if a different group had told it? another political party? race? sex? class? religious group?

7. Are there problematic words or symbols that would not have been used today, or by other groups?

8. How is the site used today? Do continuing rituals connect today's public to it? Or is it ignored? Why?

9. Is the presentation accurate? What actually happened? What historical sources tell of the event, people, or period commemorated at the site?

10. How does this site fit with others that treat its era? What other people and events happened then but are not commemorated on the landscape? Why not?[95]

In the contemporary media landscape, there has been a predictable increase in coverage on controversial monuments, often specifically Confederate monuments and what should be done with them, which is a critical aspect of this thesis. Ta-Nehisi Coates, Gary Shapiro, Caroline E. Janney, Jerome de Groot, Yoni Appelbaum, David A. Graham, Julian Chambliss, and Holland Cotter are among those who have written on this subject since 2015. artNET News has asked scholars and art historians for their take on what should be done with these sites.

In addition to the reports written by specially appointed councils to provide guidance, background, and recommendations for the cities investigated in this thesis, the reports from

[95] Loewen, James W., "Ten Questions to Ask at a Historic Site: Appendix B," *Lies Across America: What Our Historical Sites Get Wrong*, New York: The New Press, 1999 p. 459.

Charlottesville (*Blue Ribbon Commission on Race, Memorials, and Public Spaces*, 2016) and New York City (*Mayoral Commission on City Art, Monuments, and Markers*, 2018) also proved valuable.

The former mayor of New Orleans, Mitch Landrieu's book, *In the Shadow of Statues*, published in 2018, was an attempt by one directly involved in the decision-making process regarding contentious sites to reveal his own particular beliefs regarding his decisions for that city. Although the book is part memoir, Landrieu also weaves in history and provides insight into how these sites might be addressed moving forward. As he writes, "I hope that this book helps create hope for a limitless future. Now is the time to actually make (New Orleans) and this country the way they should always have been. Now is the time for choosing our path forward."[96]

Stephanie Meeks, president and CEO of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, provided remarks on two occasions during the summer of 2017, stating the National Trust's position on how to deal with the Confederate monument problem in the wake of the events in Charleston and then again post-Charlottesville. Essentially, she let it be known that the Trust advocated for case-by-case decision-making in regards to these "offending memorials," which should take place at the community level. She wrote "Some memorials can be moved, others altered, and others remain as seen fit. Whatever is decided, we hope that the memorials that remain are appropriately and thoughtfully 're-contextualized' to provide information about the war and its causes, and the changes are done in a way that engage with, rather than silence, the past—no matter how difficult it may be. We should always remember the past, but we do not necessarily need to revere it. As communities work together to determine the appropriate balance, we hope they move forward in a transparent, deliberate, an inclusive way that embraces the complexity here."[97]

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[96] Landrieu, Mitch, *In the Shadows of Statues: A White Southerner Confronts History*, Viking, 2018, p. 6.

[97] Meeks, Stephanie, "Statement on Confederate Memorials: Confronting Difficult History," *National Trust for Historic Preservation*, June 19, 2017, Accessed online.

About a week after Charlottesville, Meeks followed up her earlier statement with a second, in which she admitted "many communities are right to insist that these monuments are unjust, intolerant, and undemocratic. At the same time, that some Americans seem not to understand why and how these monuments are offensive to so many illustrates the real problem at hand. Our understanding of our own history has been distorted in too many minds by silence and deliberate misinterpretation."[98] However, she reiterates the need for communities to engage in these questions, as before, in "an honest, transparent, and inclusive way" in order to have the most success moving forward.[99]

Guelda Voien, in *Architectural Digest*, on September 11, 2017, even asks the question, "What should be done with all the empty Confederate Monument Plinths?" essentially finally framing this as an architectural or design question.[100]

It can be concluded from a review of all of this literature that while many scholars have investigated and written on issues regarding the removal of contentious monuments from our urban fabric, there has been far too little said in comparison on what should happen at these sites once those monuments are removed, other than many newspaper articles speculating on what might or should take place here, or reporting on what literally has happened there, as evidenced in the proliferation of media coverage in the wake of Charleston and Charlottesville. There is certainly room in the overall discourse on monuments and monument studies for the material which this thesis will cover, namely a discussion on what has been and what should specifically be done with sites post-monument removal.

However, this body of literature also significantly points to questions beyond the just the question of post-removal. The questions that are addressed deal with themes such as: history versus

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[98] Meeks, Stephanie, "After Charlottesville: How to Approach Confederate Memorials in Your Community," *National Trust for Historic Preservation*, Aug. 17, 2017, Accessed online.
[99] Meeks, Stephanie, "After Charlottesville: How to Approach Confederate Memorials in Your Community," *National Trust for Historic Preservation*, Aug. 17, 2017, Accessed online.
[100] Voien, Guelda, "What Should Be Done with All the Empty Confederate Monument Plinths?" *Architectural Digest*, Sept. 11, 2017, Accessed online.

memory; power and public space; erasure and contextualization; and democratic participation. Many of these themes inform the shared processes or practices that this thesis will advocate for in its conclusion.

CHAPTER THREE

Robert E. Lee, Lee Circle, New Orleans, Louisiana

Chapter Three examines the Robert E. Lee Monument and its site, Lee Circle, in New Orleans, Louisiana. This is a case in which top-down government action dictated the city's procedures to take this Confederate statue down, with relatively little to no formal public engagement informing that decision. It was only after the removal that the mayor invited a local grassroots design collective to assist in public outreach with members of the community to determine what the next iteration of the site might look like. While the final decision with how the site should be treated lays in the hands of the city council, the process by which it going about making that decision has become much more participatory.

The Robert E. Lee Monument in New Orleans' Lee Circle was initially erected and dedicated in 1884 to publicly represent the myth of the Lost Cause. In Lee's death, the Confederates of New Orleans found a "hero" in Lee, and created an imagined characterization of the beloved Confederate general which basically deified Lee on a public scale. Lee would become the "centerpiece of the cult,"[101] his fearlessness and fortitude representing for these New Orleanians a virtue that was blind to the historical facts of what happened in the war. Ironically Lee never actually even set foot in the state of Louisiana, but that was hardly a deterrent to The Robert E. Lee Monumental Association of New Orleans, the group who was looking to reaffirm the Confederacy's power and influence in this part of the country. And also ironically, those who made Lee out to be a heroic figure did so without pointing to any single actions or accomplishments on his part—the fact that he was a skilled general and a symbol of the Confederate

[101] "Robert E. Lee Monument," National Register of Historic Places, Registration form, February 1, 1991.

army was enough of a platform on which Southerners created the image of Lee as a fearless and therefore respectable man.

The site of Lee's monument is a prominent one. What came to be known as Lee Circle sits in a node along the border between the uptown and downtown neighborhoods in the city. It is a prominent location along the St. Charles Avenue streetcar line, which is the major source of public transportation in the city, and today is within a matter of a few hundred feet from the main Interstate highway through the city. No matter where one might live in New Orleans, this site is known as being in the "center of town." As Kodi Roberts, a professor of history at Louisiana State University, noted during a panel at Tulane University on May 17, 2016, convened to discuss the issue of monument removal, the placement of the monument says something about how it was remembered, serving as a reminder to people that "white supremacy is not a thing of the past." [102]

Upon Lee's death in 1870, the Robert E. Lee Monumental Association of New Orleans was formed with the express purpose of having a monument to the general erected within the city. A man named William Perkins served as the Association's president. Due to Reconstruction troubles, little was accomplished for several years after the formation of the association, so it wasn't until July 17, 1877 that they were able to persuade the City Council to pass an ordinance for the site. They were also successfully able to raise $10,000 for the commemorative project (in total the monument would cost $36,474). The ordinance would also change the name of the site from "Tivoli Circle" to "Lee Place." The site was dedicated formally as the future home of the Lee Monument.

In its overt references to both Greek/Roman and Egyptian antiquity, the design for the Lee Monument and its site legitimized in a sense Confederate history, or at least the Lost Cause. The Association hired architect John Roy, who would be responsible for the design and implementation of

[102] Woodward, Alex, "Who tells the story of the Confederate monuments in New Orleans?" *Gambit*, May 18, 2016.

the site. Roy was also the designer of the sixty-foot Doric column that was the focal point of the site, referencing Roman and Greek antiquity. Made of Tennessee marble, it would be the column upon which a likeness of Lee would stand, both literally and figuratively. The Doric order, being the simplest, served as the base upon which the rest of the orders would be built upwards ("holding up" the Ionic and Corinthian orders), symbolized here for the Lee Monument's supporters the foundation on which they could build a case for the heroism of this man. As was later noted in the monument's National Historic Register Nomination, the Doric column too was "unsurpassed in sublime majesty, righteous in all its proportions, strength and beauty combined in an appropriate memorial of a great and good man."[103] Roy's design also called for the column to be surrounded with mounded earth and a pyramidal base. In his words, this monument was meant to be "an American monument as well as a military defense," which was reflected in the mounded design.[104] The pyramidal base for the monument, referencing ancient Egypt, was meant to parallel the pyramids which had "stood the test of ages as Historical Monuments."[105]

Even before the figure of Lee was introduced onto his pedestal, however, this site had already been manipulated in such a way that it already could have been read as a site of power. The very overt classical references and Roy's desire to evoke a military base in the site planning alone would have not gone unnoticed in New Orleans at this time. It wasn't until a few years later that the bronze sculpture of Lee himself was commissioned, for reasons that remain unclear, from the New York sculptor Alexander Doyle in 1882. This figure stood 16'-6" tall with an 8'-4" base, the figure of Lee towering over Lee Place, dressed in full regimentals, one foot forward, arms crossed, as though he were surveying the surrounding territory below. As if a sixty-foot column were not enough, the colossal statue of a "heroic"

[103] "Robert E. Lee Monument," National Register of Historic Places.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid.

Lee unmistakably would alert any passersby to, if not the significance, the sheer power of the site. Within the column itself there originally was a staircase that led up to an observatory just below the statue of Lee, which would have allowed one to mimic this surveilling upon the city. Although the stairway has long since been abandoned (as of the 1930s the entrance had been closed up), Roy's choice in his design to allow this type of interaction within the monument is telling. It allowed the public into the monument and to ascend to a vantage point over the city, literally creating a power structure that paralleled the symbolic power structure inherent in the monument itself.

The Lee Monument and its site were formally dedicated on February 22, 1884, with Lee's daughters and granddaughter in attendance. It was occasion for Lost Cause supporters to reassert control, even if only symbolically, of the city. *The Times Picayune* (the local New Orleans newspaper) wrote of the occasion: "We cannot ignore the fact that the secession has been stigmatized as treason and that the purest and bravest men in the South have been denounced as guilty of shameful cry…By every appliance of literature and art, we must show all the coming ages that with us, at least, there dwells no sense of guilt."[106] The Civil War had concluded twenty years prior, but here the city of New Orleans celebrated a man who could help certain members of the community reassert their control, even if only symbolically, over all the rest of its citizens. As was noted in a later description of the dedication events, "prosperity was again showing itself in a city that for a long period had known only the desolation of war, and preparations were going rapidly forward for the great Cotton Centennial Exposition, which was to open shortly. Furthermore, it was during the Carnival season, and crowds had already gathered in the city…patriotic feeling still ran high."[107] The unveiling of the monument was

[106] New Orleans Historic District Landmark Commission, *Recommendation to the City Council*.

[107] Moore, "History and Description of the Robert E. Lee Statue at Lee's Circle in New Orleans, Louisiana, from the 1930s," State Library of Louisiana, Louisiana Works Progress Administration, date unknown, circa 1930s, Accessed online.

associated with feelings of both resurgence and celebration in the city, riding the sentiment that those in support of the Lost Cause were taking control of the city back into their hands.

In addition to Lee's descendants having been present for the dedication, Jefferson Davis, the president of the former Confederate States of America, as well as his own daughters, was in attendance, his presence thereby further legitimizing the events as an appropriate occasion to celebrate the Lost Cause. Other notable guests included: former Confederate general P. G. T. Beauregard; justices of the supreme court and state courts; members of the bar and clergy; consuls of foreign countries; the governor and his staff; and senators, majors, and other generals.[108] Notably as well, Wagner's "Grand March" from his opera *Rienzi* was played; in the opera the protagonist Cola di Rienzi wrests authority from a corrupt Roman oligarchy. Additionally, Wagner is not only a composer whose legacy as a virulent anti-Semite has been well-recorded, but "Rienzi" would also become the musical theme for Hitler's Nazi party rallies.[109]

The drive to have the monument erected in the first place is perfectly encapsulated in what the *Times Picayune* voiced in stating that the city (or Confederate sympathizers, or Southern Conservatives) has no residual sense guilt. The newspaper's bias was an expression of the white population, essentially announcing that the Confederacy, at least in New Orleans, is not remorseful for the acts they committed over the last several decades. This is a move to showcase power. But the *Times Picayune*, as a representative of the media, can be interrogated as well: they are expressing the majority, or dominant, culture (in this case New Orleans' whites), and are not representing all citizens. By privileging this site in the name of Lee, the Lee Monumental Association spatialized their particular narrative—they made a territorial claim on a centralized site in the city in which to broadcast their agenda and their beliefs. It is also significant to note that this dedication took place forty years after the Civil War ended.

[108] Moore, "History and Description of the Robert E. Lee Statue."
[109] Horowitz, Joseph, "The Specter of Hitler in the Music of Wagner," *New York Times*, Nov. 8, 1998, Accessed online.

Reconstruction itself ended in 1877, a period that saw the removal of the Northern troops from Louisiana, as well as the rise of the Louisiana paramilitary White League, but this took place even a decade after that period of violence and trying to come to grips with the aftermath of the Civil War. The erection of this monument was a move on the part of white Southerners to reassert power post-Reconstruction.

In 1930, at the urging of the Board of Commission of Lee's Circle, which had functioned since the monuments' erection, a system of floodlights was installed in four ornamental urns placed around the site, as well as narrow beam lights placed on streetcar poles around the circle, which would illuminate the monument after dark. The urns were described to provide a "striking note" via the "the smoke that appears to rise from (them), as if they were votary urns burning in honor of the great general."[110] That same year, the Board of Commission was dissolved and the monument along with its site were turned over to the City of New Orleans' Department of Public Works and Parkway Commissioner.

In 1954, there was a campaign to restore the memorial by the City of New Orleans and certain organizations such as the Sons and Daughters of Confederate Veterans, as the memorial had been deemed "now-decrepit." Physically, the monument was at last seeing the effects of age and over half a century's worth of natural deterioration. It was showing signs of dry rot and an increasing water table, which caused the monument to lean over six inches. At the time, many New Orleanians agreed the monument should be preserved. A reporter likened the monument to a guardian angel, writing "As time passed, Lee looked down from his pedestal on a city growing again after the deadly Reconstruction days…Most New Orleanians agree on this one thing: the Lee monument must and shall be preserved."[111] There were many who plausibly supported this site and its agenda, as they, and their ancestors, or those

[110] Moore, "History and Description of the Robert E. Lee Statue."
[111] "Monumental Mistake? The History Behind New Orleans' White League, Lee, and Davis Monuments," *NOLA Defender*, June 15, 2015.

like-minded, including the monument's creators, always had. Blacks were prohibited from voting, despite being a large number of the population, and their views were likely not solicited by those in power. New Orleans has historically been a majority black city, but blacks did not have voting rights until the passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act (in fact in 1896, the State of Louisiana enacted "grandfather clauses" to keep former slaves and descendants from voting). Today, in 2019, "60 percent of the residents are African-American,"[112] and the city is "markedly more segregated by both race and class recently than has been historically true."[113] Despite their majority population, blacks were disempowered both politically and economically. The New Orleanians who did agree the monument should be preserved were those who had historically held power in this city: the white land-owning, government-seated members of the population who would continue to live with such a power of white supremacy in their midst. As James E. Young would argue, there is constantly an impulse for communities, such as cities, states, or nations, to create a single narrative. But when that narrative is so problematic (as in the case of the Confederacy and the Lost Cause), there is at *least* one other competing narrative that negates it.

In 1991, Lee Circle was added to National Register of Historic Places, thereby implicating the preservation profession in the history of this site. The report accompanying this registration cited the significance of the monument as a "tangible symbol of the views of the majority of southerners during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries."[114] The report recognized the fact that both the deification of Lee and the monument's symbolic value lasted well beyond the moment when the monument was dedicated.

[112] Wendland, Teegan, "With Lee Statue's Removal, Another Battle of New Orleans Comes to a Close," *NPR*, May 20, 2017, Accessed online.
[113] Colloqate, *Paper Monuments Interim Report*, February 2019, p. 14.
[114] "Robert E. Lee Monument," National Register of Historic Places.

As evidenced from the lack of historical record on the site for several decades, the Lee Monument was not part of the public consciousness. Or, as some monument supporters claimed, they had "largely nonpolitical attachments to the monuments—considering them neighborhood markers that they saw on the way to school as children."[115] In other words, Lee on site was not consistently the active symbol that he was upon the erection of the monument, and probably at various points since, including the 1950s during the restoration campaign and the early 1990s when the site was added to the National Register of Historic Places. Yes, Lee was representative of the Lost Cause, but this site might not have been thought of as a "powerful" site, or as "visible" a site in the same way that it had been during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This response, of course, might differ, depending on who was being asked.

Former Mayor Mitch Landrieu initially proposed the removal of Lee and other controversial monuments related to the Confederacy and white supremacy in 2015, following the tragic events in Charleston, stating the monument has "purposefully celebrated a fictional, sanitized Confederacy, ignoring the death, ignoring the enslavement, and the terror that it actually stood for."[116] In addition to the Lee Monument, the others are the General P. G. T. Beauregard Monument, the Jefferson Davis Monument, and the Battle of Liberty Place Monument, which memorialized members of the White League who had been killed in the battle for which the monument was given its name. This appears to have been the first time that the city had publicly and actively considered taking a stance other than one which would preserve Lee on this site in perpetuity. Landrieu set in motion a series of interventions in the city that forced public discussions over how a community deals with its troubled past. His impetus for proposing the removal may have been the result of a personal desire for a potential future run for

[115] Wendland, "With Lee Statue's Removal."
[116] Landrieu, Mitch, Speech on the Removal of Confederate Monuments in New Orleans, *New York Times*, May 23, 2017.

higher office, but, more optimistically, it may also have been about finally reaching a moment of recognition that this discourse on the table needed to be directly dealt with.

As in other US cities, New Orleans was finally confronted with having to decide what these monuments and memorials symbolized or represented in a modern context, and how that no longer coincides with overall contemporary sentiments. As professor Roberts noted in the 2016 panel at Tulane on the issue of monument removal, "white supremacy is not a thing of the past."[117] New Orleans seemed to realize it needed to come to terms with this dark period in its history, and arguably its present. That Lee very explicitly represents the enslavement of a majority of Americans by a racist and powerful Confederacy was justification for Landrieu and New Orleans that this and other contentious monuments needed to be removed from their public sites.

On July 9, 2015, the New Orleans City Council passed a motion that the New Orleans Historic District Landmarks Commission, among other city agencies, would review the four controversial public monuments and provide recommendations to the city with how they should be dealt with. According to a city ordinance (Article VII, Section 146-611 of the City Code-Public Monuments-Removal from Public Property), "monuments may be removed from public display and relocated when they are deemed a 'nuisance.'"[118] The criteria for deeming a monument a "nuisance" includes these stipulations: "1. The thing honors, praises, or fosters ideologies which are in conflict with the requirement of equal protection for citizens….2. Has been or may become the site of violent demonstrations….3. Constitutes an expense for maintenance for the provision of security on a recurring basis."[119]

The Commission's recommendation was that the four monuments should all be removed. In the report, in addition to recognizing the fact that the monument was erected to show "no sense of

[117] Woodward, "Who tells the story of the Confederate Monuments?"
[118] New Orleans Historic District Landmark Commission, *Recommendation to the City Council.*
[119] Ibid.

guilt," the commission also included the fact that it stood for one "central aspect of the cult" of the Lost Cause: "the deification of General Robert E. Lee." But the report also noted the site at Lee Circle has been the site of protest, including demonstrations against the killings of African-American citizens by police officers, as well as for demonstrations both for and against the removal of the monument itself. Additionally, the "over $200,000 in private and public funds have been spent on repairs and maintenance of the monument."[120]

On December 17, 2015, the Lee monument was officially deemed a "nuisance," in a City Council vote, and the grounds were set for its removal in a legal acknowledgement that the monument honored, praised, or fostered "ideologies which are in conflict with the requirements of equal protection for citizens, or suggests the supremacy of one ethnic, religious, or racial group over any other, gives honor or praise to any violent actions taken wrongfully against citizens of the city to promote ethnic, religious, or racial supremacy of any group over another."[121] The 6-1 City Council decision followed a "heated monthslong (sic) debate," and despite some major opposition to removal, including from then-governor Bobby Jindal, set the stage for what would become the first high-profile Confederate monument removal during this period of heightened discourse.[122] Jindal, who had just announced a presidential bid, publicly supported keeping New Orleans' Confederate monuments standing, hoping to block Landrieu via gubernatorial legal authority per a state law called the "Heritage Act," although neither Jindal nor his staff could elaborate on what that meant exactly.[123] In fact, it was determined by local newspaper *The New Orleans Advocate* that no such Heritage Act even existed in the State of Louisiana; Jindal may have been referring to a statute passed in South Carolina in 2000 that protected

[120] New Orleans Historic District Landmark Commission, *Recommendation to the City Council.*
[121] Woodward, "Who tells the story of the Confederate Monuments?"
[122] Victor, Daniel, "New Orleans City Council Votes to Remove Confederate Monuments," *New York Times*, Dec. 17, 2015, Accessed online.
[123] O'Donoghue, Julia, "Bobby Jindal Will Try to Keep Confederate Monuments Up in New Orleans," *Times Picayune,* Aug. 14, 2015, Accessed online.

the Confederate flag at the Charleston statehouse.[124] However, that the governor of the state would so publicly take a stance on this issue speaks to the divisiveness of the issue and its inherent pollical implications.

Despite favor for removal, there was significant opposition as well, and although the decision-making process was intended to remain public, including the New Orleans Historic District Landmarks Commission's open meetings, there were those who still felt the process was flawed. During the removal process the council was "required to hold a public hearing and to call upon the advice of the Historic District Landmarks Commission and other city officials and to seek a recommendation from the Human Relations Commission,"[125] a city agency created to safeguard human rights. But a nonprofit group, The Monumental Task Committee, a local organization dedicated to restoring, repairing, and forever maintaining all monuments in the city, is said to have collected 31,000 signatures in opposition, and its president, Pierre MacGraw, said that the commissioners who voted on the removal were "were stacked with people (Landrieu) appointed."[126] In fact, New Orleans City Council members were those who voted, not Landmarks Commissioners; City Council members are elected to four-year terms.

Among community members who supported the removal were the Landmarks Commission and the City Council, as well as the Human Relations Commission, a group of over 70 local church leaders, Clergy for a United City, the Urban League of Louisiana, and the National Urban League.

The City Council's decision was appealed by the Monumental Task Commission and the Louisiana Landmarks Society, a local nonprofit preservation advocacy organization, but on March 6, 2017, the 5th Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals ruled that New Orleans' monuments could in fact be removed.

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[124] Cruz, Caitlin, "Newspaper: Law Cited by Jindal to Keep Confederate Statues Doesn't Even Exist," *Talking Points Metro*, Aug. 14, 2015, Accessed online.
[125] McClendon, Robert, 'Mitch Landrieu Invokes Public "Nuisance" Ordinance for Confederate Monuments,' *The Times-Picayune*, July 8, 2015, Accessed online.
[126] LaRose, Greg, "Group Collects 31,000 Signatures Against Removal of Confederate Monuments in New Orleans," *The Times-Picayune*, Dec. 8, 2015, Accessed online.

The ruling stated that the opponents of removal 'failed to present a case that contained a legal argument that showed the monuments should stay up. The court wrote that the groups relied on two legal claims, "both of which wholly lack legal viability or support.'"[127] Immediately, upon this ruling in the city's favor, Landrieu sought bids for the monuments' removal.

Meanwhile, groups on both sides took to the site. Those opposed to the removal came carrying Confederate flags, pistols, and automatic rifles, and lit candles at the base of the monument. Those in favor of the monument's removal flew "Take 'em down" banners.[128]

And so, on May 19, 2017, Lee's figure was taken down off of its pedestal and removed to an undisclosed location after standing atop that site for 133 years. A crowd gathered to witness the historic hours-long events, a crane finally removing Lee in the highly-public event. Police cars surrounded Lee Circle and live news trucks parked on side streets to capture the action. As was reported, the "jubilant" crowd shouted "Take him down, taken him down!" and "Hey, hey, good-bye!"[129] Notably, as opposed to the other three New Orleans monuments that were overnight, the Lee Monument was the first to come down during a highly public daytime event, in effect broadcasting the fearlessness of the city government in taking this action. Officially, the three other monuments were taken down during the night for the "protection and safety of the workers engaged in this rewriting of the historical record. The contractors hired for the removal received multiple death threats, and one had his car firebombed last year."[130] Performatively, this act of tearing down created explicitly vivid imagery that was very powerful, and even violent to some degree. The images of Lee, being torn from the top of his pedestal were widely circulated in both the local and national media, and for some was

[127] Litten, Kevin, "New Orleans Confederate Monuments Can Come Down, Court Rules," *The Times-Picayune*, March 6, 2017, Accessed online.
[128] Wendland, "With Lee Statue's Removal."
[129] Gonzales, Richard, "New Orleans Takes Down Statue of Gen. Robert E. Lee," *NPR*, May 19, 2017.
[130] Wendland, "With Lee Statue's Removal."

reminiscent of the images of monument destruction in the post-Communist bloc or Baghdad. Still, the works of John Mitchell, the editor of the *Richmond Planet*, wrote in 1890, shortly after the dedication of the monument, "He (the African American) put up the Lee monument, and should the time come, will be there to take it down."[131]

Immediate plans for the site were indefinite, although it was reported that Landrieu announced that fountains would be built and an American flag flown in the monuments' place. The installation of public art was another idea mentioned in the media. Other reports stated that the city would be soliciting proposals from nonprofit and government entities and "has so far gotten offers from various public and private institutions," although certain conditions apply, including the now-removed "statues cannot be displayed outdoors on public property in New Orleans."[132]

Today, minus this figure of Lee, the site virtually remains identical. The green defense-like mound and sixty-foot high Doric pedestal are intact, imbuing the site with residual meaning. Despite the fact that Lee's figure is gone, this site remains a landscape of memory, these remaining physical traces of what was once there in total still carrying the weight of history. In fact, it could be argued that the site, in the removal of the figure and the decision not to tear down the column, now has even more power, for the layers of contention, collective memory, and meaning have become more complex. What does it mean to remove only part of the monument as a whole? Why choose to leave these traces? Could it really be argued that the power of the site was solely in the controversial figure of Lee? Was this a way of appeasing two opposing sides? Likely the site and its designed landscaping was overlooked, and its being left was not necessarily an intentional act. However, this speaks to the idea that more advanced planning is necessary in order to grapple with the problem of these sites.

[131] Levin, Kevin M., "Robert E. Lee Topples From His Pedestal," *The Atlantic,* May 19, 2017, Accessed online.
[132] Gonzales, "New Orleans Takes Down."

For a period of time, the city did nothing publicly to indicate what might actually happen here. The current mayor, LaToya Cantrell, has been in office since January 2018, but has not publicly come out with any statements regarding the site. Meanwhile, the city concurrently initially undertook a major effort to clean up the site, power-washing the column, refurbishing the urns and filling them with new plants, and replacing the concrete on the upper deck that surrounds the column. These actions are curious, as they in a sense are indicative of the values the city is still placing in that site. Lee's figure itself may have been removed, but clearly the site still contains meaning—even if that meaning is still vaguely being expressed via a lack of literal or figural symbols. By tending to this site, the city is proving that it recognizes the significance of this location, even if only to suggest how central, public, and *seen* this site is. Is it possible the city believes that the *pedestal* somehow is *less* associated with power in the same way that Lee's figure is associated with it? Or, is it the opposite, that they do understand the power of the site, and by literally cleaning it are attempting to avoid future protests and disruptions. Why wasn't this part of the monument removed with Lee himself? It could be argued the site in a way is more imposing now, because of the empty pedestal, which was designed in advance of Lee's figure. It appears, in person and in images, to be waiting for yet another power-representing figure; it is pregnant with possibility, and yet still imbued with the power narratives on site until 2017.

Alternative plans for the site have developed, with many coming from those who opposed the removal of the Lee Monument to being with. During Mardi Gras (one of, if not the, largest city-wide annual celebrations) 2018, the first since the removal of Lee, a grassroots group threw "Forever Lee Circle" Mardi Gras beads out to the crowds in an act of protest of its removal. This ad hoc action suggests the debate is still not over and very much alive. And during the fall of 2018, there was talk suggesting that the site be dedicated as "Victory Circle," memorializing all people who have fought in American wars—except the group spearheading this discussion also would like to see Lee's figure reinstated on site, or at least plaques commemorating his life. Interestingly this scheme would once

again commemorate militarism on the site, simply displacing the center of attention from the Civil War to "*all* wars." The members of the group who made this proposal were against the removal of Lee to begin with so it makes sense they might suggest something similar in effect. Their scheme includes placing a "Goddess of Victory" atop the pedestal, with smaller statues of people of different races and genders representing the various branches of the military. However, they also want to introduce explanatory plaques that honor Lee, and it has been suggested this is all a ploy to "smuggle" the statue of Lee back onto the site.[133]

In addition to these suggestions, both public and private institutions have made offers to redesign the site.[134] Another potential plan includes a real estate development project, though it seems suspect considering the maintenance and attention paid to the physical site over the course of the last year and a half.

What is most problematic about this case study is that the plans for what to do with Lee Circle after the controversial figure was removed were not part of the recent discussions of what to do with the site overall. As previously noted, the site is just as, if not more, charged in its current state. The removal of Lee's statue did not entirely diminish the racist power that was imbed into the site previously; rather the removal has allowed many significant latent political issues to arise. What are the values inscribed in the site? And for whom is any action at this site being taken? The meaning of the site has changed over time, relative to each successive generation and different communities, who either have chosen to embrace and embody the original ideals of this symbol, or not, as we have witnessed in the last three years or so. As the journalist Alex Woodward wrote in the local New Orleans

[133] Gill, James, "How 'Victory Circle' May Smuggle Robert E. Lee Back Into a Place of Honor," *The New Orleans Advocate*, Oct. 18, 2018, Accessed online.
[134] Gonzales, "New Orleans Takes Down."

newspaper *Gambit* in May 2016*, "*If you want (the monument) gone, you're also responsible for figuring out new stories."[135]

The site remains alive in its active editing of its history and narratives, and its changing context over time. Is there a formal way of preserving this discourse, of preserving this debate and this contentious history, while still allowing the public to use this site as a location of honor no matter what their beliefs may be? Values may change, use may change, but what has been consistent is that this site has remained a site of power. Who gets a say in the exercising of that power?

In an attempt to mediate this discourse, the City of New Orleans attempted to implement a public engagement process in order to come to some conclusions about how to replace the Lee Monument, or at least deal with the site in its current state, by officially pairing with a local nonprofit, Colloqate Design. Former mayor Landrieu announced on March 7, 2017, that Colloqate had been hired by his administration to collect public input on what should replace the statue, the whole process being funded by the Ford Foundation. Sue Mobley, Colloqate's Directory of Advocacy, noted that the group never found out the mayor was giving them his "official blessing" until "10 hours before a news release went out about it,"[136] highlighting the fact that the mayor's desire to include them in the city's public outreach process was not necessarily planned out.

Formed in May 2017, Colloqate Design, a relatively new nonprofit organization, became the de facto group spearheading a public engagement process in New Orleans in order to come to some conclusions about how to replace the Lee monument. Landrieu cited Colloqate's already ongoing Paper Monuments project in his announcement, which named them, as well as the Foundation of Louisiana, a

[135] Woodward, "Who tells the story of the Confederate Monuments?"

[136] Litten, Kevin, "A Year After New Orleans Confederate Monuments Came Down, Questions Linger," *The Times-Picayune*, April 23, 2018, Accessed online.

local organization dedicated to community issues, and "other community partners," as the leaders of the process.[137]

The firm is being led by both Bryan C. Lee Jr. and Mobley. In their own words, Colloqate is a

> "multidisciplinary Non Profit Design Justice practice focused on expanding community access to, and building power through the design of social, civic, and cultural spaces. Our mission is to intentionally organize, advocate, and design spaces of racial, social, and cultural equity. We believe that to design is to have an unyielding faith in the potential for a just society. It is an act of individual and collective hope requiring, not only, an awareness of true inequity, but a compulsion to speak out against it in its many forms. Design speaks to the potential for equitable spaces and attempts to visually and physically represent our collective aspirations for the future."[138]

It is significant to note that Colloqate did not grow out of any official relationship with the city of New Orleans, but rather out of the efforts of these two individuals who have backgrounds in design and advocacy in relation to social justice issues. In other words, their work was a grass roots response to not the specific "four monument controversy" in the city, but to an overall concern and regard for the city overall and the narratives and symbols embodied in its physical fabric.

Colloqate's ongoing Paper Monuments project was modeled on Philadelphia's Monument Lab, an independent art and history organization, whose goal is to "critically engage the public art we have inherited to reimagine public spaces through stories of social justice and equity."[139] Similarly to Monument Lab's work, Paper Monuments is meant to be as inclusive and broad as possible,

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[137] Litten, Kevin, "Mitch Landrieu Announces Process for Replacing Lee Monument," *The Times-Picayune*, March 7, 2017, Accessed online.
[138] "About: Mission and Vision," Colloqate website, https://colloqate.org
[139] Monument Lab website, http://monumentlab.com.

encouraging residents and the community to think outside the box in terms of potential replacements for Lee. The project

> "consists of a series of opportunities, events, and interventions designed to elevate the voices of the people of New Orleans as a critical process to creating symbols of our city that represent our collective vision, and to honor the erased histories of the people, events, movement, and places that have made up the past 300 years as we look to the future…Paper Monuments combines public pedagogy and participatory design to expand our collective understanding of New Orleans, and asks our citizens to answer the question: What is an appropriate monument to our city today?"[140]

In Mobley's words, "(conversation) matters, that process matters. That sense of belonging in the city matters far more than the outcome."[141] In naming their project "Paper Monuments," it is impossible to overlook Colloqate's reference to materiality. This project was born out of an ideas-generating process before there was any specific or formal association with the City of New Orleans. Paper is not monumental, and even arguably ephemeral, but the project's first objective has been to solicit and generate community-based ideas. Eventually the "Imagined Monuments Project will shift Colloqate Design from the ephemeral process of Paper Monuments into (the) firm's longer term vision, working with partners and within communities towards the creation of a system of public memory through public art and reinvestment in the civil and public commons of New Orleans."[142] This is just the project's first iteration.

As of mid-February, 2019, Colloqate had submitted their 28-page *Paper Monuments Interim Report* to the city of New Orleans, a process that is now at its midway point. Their goal is to collect 1,500 proposals, and they have received over 900 thus far. This report is the "first time that anyone has

[140] "Projects + Programs: Paper Monuments," Colloqate website, https://colloqate.org.
[141] Litten, "A Year After."
[142] Colloqate, *Paper Monuments Interim Report*.

provided detailed suggestions for a more official, City Hall-led process to replace the monument at Lee Circle." [143] But as Colloqate was self-formed, and remains independent of the city, this also represents an example of top-down and grass-roots initiatives working together.

As the Executive Summary of the report notes, the proposals that were submitted come from residents who "live in every zip code in our city, range in age from 3 to 78, and closely match the racial and gender demographics of Orleans Parish," which is evidence that this process has at least been effective in reaching a representative sample of the community.[144] However, it also notes how originally the model for the project had a focus on Tivoli Circle (the previous name of Lee Circle, and that which Colloqate chooses to use), but that any plans for action with the previous mayoral administration never came to fruition. While no formal plans were ever in place, after Landrieu announced Colloqate's participation, his term ended. Thus, the focus of Paper Monuments today "remains broader than the charge of a single site," but they

> "remain cognizant of the importance of that particular location (Lee/Tivoli Circle) in any discussion of monuments in New Orleans…We believe that any valid process must include the solicitation and submission of multiple formal proposals and meet standard City development and procurement procedures, while also being grounded in procedural justice and public engagement." [145]

Specifically, the Paper Monuments project has also been candid that its purpose is radically democratic; the goal is not to "decide what individual belongs at the top of a pillar, but to join and expand a conversation about who and what we remember, what events have shaped our city and our lives, and what movements matter to us. Our goal is a radically democratic one. We want every

[143] Litten, Kevin, "A Process to Replace the Lee Monument Slowly Unfolds," *The Times-Picayune*, February 19, 2019, Accessed online.
[144] Colloqate, *Paper Monuments Interim Report*, p. 4.
[145] Ibid.

resident of New Orleans to have an opportunity to find voice in this process."[146] To meet this goal, their work has centered on equity, integrity, and collaboration, and expressly has explained that there is need to allow for a period of empty pedestals, the implication being that during this time of reflection, more meaningful or thoughtful ideas could be generated. Interestingly, this assumption post-rationalizes a process for these sites of contention that takes place after a monument has been removed. How realistic or beneficial is doing things in this order, or is this merely Colloqate's way of working within the existing circumstances?

In trying to wrangle with alternative ways of rethinking old and new historic sites within the city, by empowering the community to thoughtfully and creatively shape their own city, Colloqate also hopes to challenge the idea that monuments are "permanent features of metal or stone, while referencing community-rooted cultural practices of our city," for example the "continuum of oral history in African-diaspora cultures, the call and response exchange of brass band, gospel, and Mardi Gras Indian musical traditions."[147] The ideas and public proposals for new city monuments which they've received from community-members so far encompass these themes: culture, and its loss; love, maternal and familial; love, plutonic and love of place; historic correctives; blackness, non-monolithic; environmental; interactive, kinetic monuments. These are markedly different than the traditional historic figure on a pedestal. For the Lee/Tivoli Circle site alone, Colloqate received 72 proposals.

Their work has been done in close conjunction with the Human Relations Commission, who have helped bridge the gap between the public outreach process and the city government, as it will eventually be the Human Resources Commission that will lead the official process of replacing the monument. As Vincenzo Pasquantonio, executive director of the Human Relations Commission, has said, "Mayor LaToya Cantrell would like to reach a decision on Lee Circle's future before the end of her

[146] Colloqate, *Paper Monuments Interim Report*, p. 5.
[147] Ibid., p. 9.

current term."[148] Although Colloqate's work has been highly publicized, there have been no formal decisions about how that work will be used, or how their findings will influence the commission.

Despite the city not engaging in a true public engagement process before Lee was removed, there is evidence that the administration attempted to make that a part of its post-removal plan. And through Colloqate, the proposal for what will happen to the site should be a community-engaged design, its authorship shared by both designers and the community itself. Despite the final decisions about removal coming from the top down, by engaging in this grassroots process, the people of New Orleans have the opportunity to shape their own world themselves. Therefore, the outcomes will be informed by the city administration, professional designers, preservationists, and residents, without any one group's "expertise" or desires taking precedence over another—they will hopefully inform one another for the best possible answer.

[148] Litten, "A Process to Replace."

CHAPTER FOUR

Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson, Wyman Park Dell, Baltimore, Maryland

Chapter Four explores the Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson Monument and Wyman Park Dell in Baltimore, Maryland. This case study reveals how public participation can add benefit to the processes in place regarding these sites. Additionally, it suggests that the introduction of an impermanent counter-monument can be effective as well, and that the design of the monument itself may be irrelevant. It is the site itself, now embedded with layers of history and memory, rather than necessarily what is on it, that makes it a powerful location which the public at large can continuously gather for public discourse.

A monument to Confederate Generals Robert E. Lee and Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson stood in Baltimore from 1948 until August 2017. It was set within a 16-acre public park, Wyman Park Dell, designed by the Olmsted Brothers in 1911. Dedicated in 1948, the bronze double equestrian statue depicts Lee and Jackson atop horses departing for the Civil War Battle of Chancellorsville, Virginia, an event that came to be viewed as one of Lee's greatest victories. although Jackson was mortally wounded in the battle. It should be noted that the state of Maryland remained part of the Union during the entire the Civil War, despite the fact that some people in the state supported slavery or sympathized with the Confederate cause. Indeed, Baltimore has only one monument to the Union, and three to the Confederacy. So how did a monument to these two men come to be erected in this state?

The Lee and Jackson Monument in Baltimore was representative of Lost Cause sentiments, honoring two Confederate generals simultaneously. As has been discussed, the Lost Cause grew out of

the increasing desire of whites to retain their supremacy at a time when their predominant power was challenged. As the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) has researched and recorded in its timeline of the creation of monuments to the Confederacy, there were spikes in the dedication of these sites beginning around 1900 as Jim Crow laws were enacted. The Lee and Jackson Monument, having been dedicated in 1948, is both the product of the first period, and helps to usher in the second period that the SPLC identified, which took place in the 1960s when the Civil Rights movement was underway.

Looking back to the Civil War itself, "there were no official Maryland troops in the Confederacy, but sympathetic Marylanders organized infantry, cavalry, and artillery units. Others joined military outfits from other states. As many as 25,000 Marylanders fought for the South in the war."[149] As early as 1865, upon the conclusion of the war, Confederate groups were organizing in the state. Veterans formed an organization, the Loudon Park Memorial Association, that would ceremonially honor and arrange to have former Confederate soldiers buried in Loudon Park Cemetery once a year. This set the tone for events to come in terms of people's desire to memorialize the Lost Cause, the figures representative of that myth. In 1871 the Association renamed itself the Society of the Army and Navy of the Confederate States in the State of Maryland, with the mission to

> "collected and preserve the material for a truthful history of the late war between the Confederate States and the United States of America; to honor the memory of our comrades who have fallen; to cherish the ties of friendship among those who survive, and to fulfill the duties of sacred charity towards those who may stand in need of them."[150]

There does appear to have initially been an altruistic impulse to honor the Confederacy in the years after the war ended, although these sentiments play into Lost Cause motivations as well.

[149] "Baltimore's Confederate Memory & Monuments: Executive Summary," Baltimore Civil Rights Heritage, https://baltimoreheritage.github.io/civil-rights-heritage/confederate-memory/.
[150] Ibid.

It was very quickly pointed out how problematic it would be to introduce physical memorials or monuments to the public landscape. On January 19, 1880, the Society of the Army and Navy of the Confederate States in Maryland held its annual meeting at which a group of Confederate veterans passed a series of resolutions to form a fund-raising committee for the erection of a monument in Baltimore to honor Confederate veterans. A resolution passed two months later on March 24, to move ahead with the erection of this monument.

Not all Marylanders were supportive of this plan, however, with some disapproving. Some said that a monument memorializing state's rights and local government memorialized a cause that was dead. Whether these people saw the Lost Cause as a power play against blacks or not, they understood that the monument was associated with this myth, and were not afraid to speak out against it. Even former Confederates were hesitant to glorify their losing side. Three days after the passing of the resolution to erect a monument, a letter from Confederate veteran, Charles T. Crane, ran in *The Baltimore Sun*, in which he criticized the monument. He implores of then Baltimore Mayor Hon. F.C. Latrobe:

> "Whatever the sentiments and sympathies of the people of Maryland may have been or may be now, there was and there is a very respectable minority of them who did not sympathize with the South during the Civil War. Whatever may have been the agencies employed to accomplish such result, the fact remains that Maryland did not leave the Union, and while hundreds of her sons gave up their lives in defense of the South, the State itself was never a member of the Confederacy…the truth is undeniable that the cause for which they fought is dead. The principles of civil liberty, of State's rights and of local self-government may live, nay, do live and burn in thousands of manly bosoms, but the cause, a separate national existence for the States and the people of the South is dead—forever dead…I am unwilling to see erected in the public streets of this city a monument to a dead idea, but which will be a standing menace, and a source of

> bitterness not only to a great number of the citizens of Baltimore and Maryland, but to a great number of people of the United States. The war is over. For God's sake let us of the South do nothing to revive its enmities and hates, but rather cultivate a spirit of reconciliation and peace."[151]

Crane, despite his Confederate sympathies, recognized that this proposed monument would not be representative of *all* of Baltimore's citizens, as well as seems to be pointing to a larger project, that of reconciling the North and South as one unified nation. The "South is dead" and although it might still have aspirations for state's rights and local self-government, the vehicle for realizing them cannot be secession from the Union. Therefore a monument to these causes has no place in Baltimore's public streets.

Other local voices spoke out against the monument as well, including a letter on behalf of the residents written by Dr. J. Pembroke Thom and officers and soldiers who served in the Union army. Mayor Latrobe, in a letter to the City Council from April 5, 1880, disapproved of the monument:

> "the erection at this time in one of the public squares of a memorial monument commemorative of the acts of those who fought upon either side would not fail to be repugnant to the opinions and sentiments of many people. The public highways and squares of the city are the common property of all, and we who are temporarily entrusted with their control, whatever our personal opinions may be, are not, in my judgement, justified in dedicating any portion of them to a purpose which would be in direct opposition to the sensibilities and wishes of large numbers of citizens."[152]

Mayor Latrobe in this letter is explicitly opposed to using the city's public realm for a monument to something so one-sided. It would be inappropriate for a monument, either to the Confederacy or to the

[151] Crane, Charles T., "The Proposed Confederate Monument," *The Baltimore Sun*, March 27, 1880, page 4, Accessed online.
[152] "Baltimore's Confederate Memory & Monuments: Executive Summary."

Union, to be erected on public property, as opposed to private land, because this space is meant for all citizens. Public space, for the mayor, should not be used for the benefit of one particular viewpoint. There was clearly a vein of anti-monument sentiment running through the city, and yet the tides of the Lost Cause would prove to be more powerful.

The years between 1880 and 1948, saw four Confederate monuments erected in Baltimore, including the Lee and Jackson monument, as well as civil action on the part of private groups of citizens who were working towards having Confederate monuments put up. This activity increased the power of the Lost Cause movement within the city.

The first monument was erected in 1887 in North Vernon Place. This monument of Chief Justice Roger B. Taney was a direct replica of the Taney monument that had been erected in 1872 outside of the Maryland Statehouse in Annapolis. Taney is best known as the United States Supreme Court Justice who wrote the majority opinion in the 1857 Dred Scott case, which said that black men had no rights, in essence leading to the Civil War itself. The monument was dedicated on November 12, 1887, and paved the way for more monuments to come.

Meanwhile, local women's groups were starting to take action. In 1883, the Ladies' Confederate Memorial and Beneficial Association's Baltimore Chapter was involved in a major fundraising campaign to support the erection of a statue to Robert E. Lee, not in their home state, but in Lexington, Virginia. That these women were involved in a campaign in a different state shows how dedicated they were to the Lost Cause in general. In February 1899, the Daughters of the Confederacy in Baltimore were granted the authorization by the Baltimore City Council to erect a monument to the memory of the Confederate soldiers and sailors who died in the war. This monument was to become the Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Monument, also known as the "Spirit of the Confederacy," which was dedicated on

May 2, 1903. Criticism for these monuments was diminishing, paralleled by an increase in violence and discrimination against blacks that was taking place during this Jim Crow period.

It was not until 1914 that public funding from the government went directly to the erection of a Confederate monument, but it was in this year that the General Assembly of Maryland approved a bill that would lead to the building of a monument to the women of the Confederacy. The bill was entitled, "An act to erect a suitable monument in the city of Baltimore to commemorate the heroism, devotion and self-sacrifice of the women of Maryland in their services to the wounded Confederate soldiers who came under their care in the war between the States—1861-1865."[153] A $12,000 donation from the state, along with private contributions from the United Confederate Veterans and the Maryland Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy paid for the Confederate Women's Monument, erected in 1917.

Eleven years after the Confederate Women's Monument was dedicated, planning began for the Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson Monument, despite the fact that it was not actually erected until two decades later in 1948. Banker and President of the Colonial Trust Company, J. Harry Ferguson, left in his will very specific instructions for a monument to be built upon his death. That monument would honor two of his childhood heroes, Lee and Jackson. In order to accomplish this feat, Ferguson left a $100,000 gift to the Baltimore Municipal Arts Society, but he also insisted the gift not be spent before the death of his sister, Ella Ward. Ferguson died in December 1928, but his sister did not pass until October 10, 1934, at which time the planning could really move into action. As with Lee in New Orleans, the heroic figure of Lee in Baltimore had taken on a canonical role in the minds of many of its pro-Confederacy citizens.

[153] "Baltimore's Confederate Memory & Monuments: Executive Summary."

In 1935, sculptor Laura Gardin Fraser won the competition to design the figures of Lee and Jackson, and she in turn commissioned the architect John Russel Pope to design the base of the monument. Pope was also responsible for the design of the Baltimore Museum of Art, which is just north of Wyman Park Dell, where the Lee and Jackson Monument would be placed. Fraser initially intended for the design to be complete by the summer of 1938, but there were multiple delays, and in August 1939, she changed that estimate to early 1941, and then again to late spring 1942. Meanwhile, construction on the $50,000 pedestal had started in July 1939. But work stopped completely due to World War II, and "'an acute shortage of Italian clay' and limits on metal."[154] The sculpture was finally cast in 1946, after the war had ended.

At last, on May 1, 1948, the monument was dedicated, with 3,000 people in attendance, many waving Confederate flags that were reportedly being sold for $1 each. This day also happened to be the eighty-fifth anniversary of the eve of the Battle of Chancellorsville, which was depicted in the memorial.[155] Inscriptions on the base included "They were great generals and Christian soldiers and waged war like gentlemen," and "So great is my confidence in General Lee that I am willing to follow him blindfolded straight as the needle to the pole Jackson advanced to the execution of my purpose."[156]

At the dedication, political leaders and the media immediately set about reframing the narrative of Lee and Jackson using neutral and heroic terms, such as "character," "ability," "conviction," and "devotion." This effectively depoliticized the figures and raised them up generally as good men and more specifically as symbols of the Lost Cause, thereby suppressing the racism and violence inherent in

[154] "Baltimore's Confederate Memory & Monuments: Executive Summary."
[155] Special Commission to Review Baltimore's Public Confederate Monuments, Report to Mayor Rawlings-Blake, Aug. 16, 2016, p. 24.
[156] Ibid., p. 25.

the historical events associated with them and what they stood for. Governor William Preston Lane Jr.'s remarks at the dedication, were reported in *The Baltimore Sun*:

> "The Governor explained the monument is symbolic of our unity of purpose, as a nation, to preserve those things which our forefathers, and those of our generations, have fought, and in the attainment of them, raised among us men of the stature of Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson…We honor here in this bronze, the character and the ability, the strength of conviction and the devotion to a cause, of two men who were great Americans, albeit they rose in this greatness and enshrined themselves in the hearts of their countrymen in a cause that was lost."[157]

In another editorial account that same day, *The Baltimore Sun* ran a piece that suggested that this will be a neutral site, enjoyed by those who aren't even necessarily aware of who Lee and Jackson are or what they represent. They wrote:

> "they (the laymen with whom the paper had talked) are willing to believe, here and now, that this monument will be loved at and enjoyed by people who know little and care less about the incident it commemorates. They rejoice in its setting, and the appropriateness of its pedestal. They hold, and we go along with them, that here is one memorial which raises the average of our public art and helps support our reputation as the Monumental City."[158]

The paper regarded the monument as an art piece, and not as a representation of the Confederacy and what it stood for at the time. Whether or not this was a way for them to justify to a greater number of people the "legitimacy" of this site, they still took a public stance, attempting to explain the value of this monument to the City of Baltimore. Additionally, by interviewing these so-called laymen the paper

[157] "Baltimore's Confederate Memory & Monuments: Executive Summary."
[158] Ibid.

could also have been advancing its own agenda—how well did these interviews represent true public sentiment?

To some degree this sentiment echoes the position of an article published in *The Baltimore Sun* two years prior, in 1946, in which Amy Grief wrote of one of the city's other public Confederate memorials: "It has been there many years, but you've never noticed it. It's not particularly distinguished, not bad—simply a part of the landscape you've accepted."[159] This suggests that the discourse over the Confederate monuments had waned and the criticism had ebbed by the mid-1940s, and thus the contentiousness of the monuments, and even the monuments themselves, were to some degree "invisible" to one kind of Baltimore resident, namely whites.

However much certain leaders and critics might have wanted to whitewash the meanings of this monument, one cannot separate the aesthetics of commemorative sculpture from its politics. Kirk Savage, in his book *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves,* writes about the impossibility of disassociating art from the political in terms of monuments. The Lee and Jackson Monument must be viewed through a political lens, and therefore the gestures of these two figures up on their pedestal sculpturally or artistically suggest power and political might as well. In Savage's words,

> "The aesthetic problems of commemorative sculpture cannot be separated from the more obviously political pressures inherent in this public medium. The dividing line between the aesthetic and the political is in fact difficult to define since the generic characteristics of heroic sculpture themselves carry profoundly political significance. The whole notion of history as a tale of great men is made palpably glorious in the statues of heroes; that glory works to marginalize cultural constructions of the past that might represent other groups and categories of historical experience."[160]

[159] "Baltimore's Confederate Memory & Monuments: Executive Summary."
[160] Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves,* p. 69.

The Baltimore Afro-American's editorializing of the day's dedication events suggests that this disassociation between art and the political was not possible for everyone, namely for Baltimore's black population, the newspaper's main readership. The dedication of the Lee and Jackson Monument was very much on people's minds, and this population still very much felt the antagonism in the use of the symbols of these Confederate generals. The newspaper wrote:

> "Speaking at the dedication…Gov. William Preston Lane said that the scars of the Civil War have long since been healed. What does he mean, 'healed'? The governor is president of a conference of governors of 17 Southern States whose chief goal now is to keep all existing college, university, and professional schools 'for white only" and, in general, to oppose President Truman's program of civil rights for all. Mayor Thomas D'Alessandro of Baltimore said, 'we can look for inspiration to the lives of Lee and Jackson to remind us to be resolute and determined in preserving our sacred institutions.' The 'sacred institution' which Lee and Jackson sought to wreck was this Federal union of ours. The 'sacred institution' they sought to preserve was slavery. Actually, both Lee and Jackson were an example of small town rebels who walked roughshod over people in an attempt to build a State on the foundation of slave labor. Hitler killed Jews. Lee and Jackson exploited colored people as animals and property. If we do right today to try the Nazi gang for crimes against humanity in World War II, then Abe Lincoln was a sissy in not hanging Jeff Davis, Lee, Jackson, Stevens, and the whole caboodle of Confederate government leaders and military commanders."[161]

The use of the comparison between Lee and Jackson with Hitler and the Jews may seem radical, but it puts into historical context of the time how African Americans may have felt. The world was appalled by Hitler's systematic mass murder of Jews. But systematic violence was performed against blacks in the US as well. How were Hitler's actions condemned so severely, while the actions of Americans against

[161] Opinion, "Why Not Benedict Arnold?" *The Baltimore Afro-American*, May 15, 1948, Accessed online.

blacks were overlooked, and even celebrated through the cult of the Lost Cause? The pain of the Civil War had not been forgotten by many blacks, and the Lee and Jackson Monument was a physical and visual reminder of that, and at least this one newspaper felt it could draw the comparison between these two historical outrages.

Southern Conservatives, for their part, leveraged the Lee and Jackson Monument in media campaigns to advance their political interests, eventually taking notice of the fact that the monument was a powerful symbol that could be exploited. The monument notably served as the backdrop for one of Strom Thurmond's presidential campaign rallies. In October 1948, the then South Carolina Governor made an appearance at the site in a shrewd move, capitalizing on the embedded history and cultural memory there. As a member of the States' Rights Democratic Party (or "Dixiecrats"), Thurmond had based his candidacy on an opposition to civil rights. As such, Thurmond's use of Lee and Jackson was clearly a way of indirectly, but hardly subtly, associating himself and his campaign with the tenets of the Confederacy and the Lost Cause. This was a powerful tactic in which Thurmond could broadcast to those present, or those who might read about his rally, that he was aligning himself with a certain sect of American people and what they stood for.

By 1961, the Centennial of the start of the Civil War, critics began challenging the Lee and Jackson Monument, as well as the three controversial monuments that preceded it. The monuments continued to serve an important role as symbols, a role which became even more notable during this centennial year. Anything related to the Civil War at this time would have been given extra attention or at least would have been more present in people's minds. In March of that year, Dr. Lawrence D. Reddick, an African American professor of history at Coppin State Teachers College, and author of the first biography of Martin Luther King, Jr., was quoted as saying, "Confederate flags, pageants, songs, and such organizations as the Daughters of the Confederacy and its junior branch, the Children of the Confederacy, pictures and monuments to Confederate heroes all serve to perpetuate a false image of

history and strengthen the old ante-bellum ideas of white supremacy and colored inferiority."[162] Symbols of the past which were meant to serve the narratives of the Confederacy, the Lost Cause, and white supremacy were still doing the jobs they were intended for, even now, a century later. But they were being criticized as preserving a constructed history that supported racially unjust beliefs and practices.

Shockingly, Maryland did not pass the 15th Amendment until 1973, giving blacks the right to vote. And in 1997, Baltimore symbolically rededicated all of its monuments on the occasion of the city's bicentennial celebration, but failed to include any kind of reframing of their context. The monuments were basically reaffirmed as relics of history. Those monuments included in this rededication process was the Lee and Jackson monument amongst a total of approximately 150 throughout the city. Interestingly in an article from May of that year, a reporter for *The Baltimore Sun* mirrored the 1946 idea that the monuments were "invisible." Michael James wrote, "these bronze and marble statues that most Baltimoreans take for granted caused monumental disagreements among artists, politicians, soldiers, and landowners."[163] He points out that even in this, Baltimore's bicentennial year, these sites are taken for granted. Additionally, although he suggests that the sites were controversial, throughout the entire article he never once mentions the political controversies of the four Confederate monuments, either contemporarily or in the past, as well as the bias of the James himself. This suggests that, at least in the late 1990s, these four monuments fit into the context of their time, and that the controversies that were a part of their conception and erection were not necessarily even valued. He goes on to say, "But the fights over the monuments seem to last only as long as it takes to build

[162] "Dr. Reddick Raps Civil War Events," *The Washington Afro-American*, March 11, 1961, Accessed online.
[163] James, Michael, "A Monumental Metropolis; Landmarks: The City's Monuments, Toasted by a President and Celebrated as Baltimore Civic Treasures, Were not Always Welcomed in Their Time," *The Baltimore Sun*, May 21, 2017, Accessed online.

them,"[164] which ignores the fact that these controversies had already lasted much longer, and would perpetuate into the future.

The controversy over Baltimore's Confederate monuments would come to a head nearly twenty years later, becoming the center of a city-wide discourse as a result of the massacre in Charleston. In direct response to this event the Mayor of Baltimore at this time, Stephanie Rawlings-Blake, commissioned a special task force, the Special Commission to Review Baltimore's Public Confederate Monuments, to analyze the city's four problematic Confederate monuments. As the Special Commission's report notes, "Mayor Rawlings-Blake recognized that a determination of what to do with these monuments is layered with complexity, both ideological and legal. She also recognized that it was important to respond to this national debate about Confederate monuments and symbols with an informed and thoughtful approach with the input of scholars, artists and citizens."[165]

Rawlings-Blake appointed members to the Special Commission to review the controversial monuments. Her seven appointees all came from either the Public Art Commission, or PAC (three appointees) and the Commission for Historical and Architectural Preservation, or CHAP (four appointees) because of their "considerable expertise and knowledge."[166] Of the special commissioners, two held PhDs and one was a lawyer. Two were curators, one a director of library services, one a representative of the City Council President's Office, one a professor of law, one a civil engineer, and one an assistant professor of public history.

The City, via PAC and CHAP, was responsible for the maintenance and preservation of the city's public art collection, which included the Lee and Jackson Monument. As Rawlings-Blake acknowledged in her opening letter included in the Special Commission's report, "Baltimore's public art includes

[164] James, Michael, "A Monumental Metropolis."
[165] Special Commission to Review Baltimore's Public Confederate Monuments, Report to Mayor Rawlings-Blake, pp. 9-10.
[166] Ibid., p. 5.

several monuments that raise difficult questions about our history and have engendered recent debates about the appropriateness of such monuments in the City's public realm…Many citizens have shared that certain public monuments do not accurately represent Baltimore's history and heritage and questioned the messages that these monuments represent to citizens today."[167]

Note that despite recognizing the racist nature of these monuments, Rawlings-Blake did not intend to take any immediate action in the wake of the 2015 events, but rather wanted to begin a public process to consider what to do with these problematic monuments. The Special Commission agreed to meet four times between September 2015 and January 2016 before they would make its recommendations to the mayor. During their initial meeting the commissioners agreed that their process should be as open and transparent as possible, and so they set up three options for the public to weigh in. This included a physical mailing address, email or digital messaging via the Commission website, and allocated time during one public hearing (the third meeting, held on December 15, was dedicated entirely to in-person public testimony). In order to reach the public, the Commission advertised on their website and via physical signs placed on the base of the monuments themselves. 188 pieces of public testimony were received and recorded from 165 individuals. Approximately 86% of those respondents were Baltimore residents. There was a range of testimony, including observations of the sites, suggestions of what to do or not to do with the sites, and questions about the sites.[168]

In its decision to recommend that the Lee and Jackson Monument be removed and deaccessioned from the city's collection, the Special Commission, suggested that perhaps this and other residual Confederate symbols were no longer appropriate for the city's public realm, and that the collective memory they once touted did not represent the democratic make-up of the city today. During their deliberations, the Special Commission initially announced that it was considering four options for

[167] Special Commission to Review Baltimore's Public Confederate Monuments, Report to Mayor Rawlings-Blake, p. 5.
[168] Ibid., p. 29.

the four monuments: leaving them in place, adding signage or additional art to recontextualize them, relocating them, or getting rid of them. In their final meeting the Commission made its recommendations based on their review process which included expert and public testimony and community input in addition to their own research.

In addition to recommending that the Lee and Jackson Monument be removed and deaccessioned, they suggested it be offered to the National Park Service for placement on the Chancellorsville Battlefield. It was also recommended that the Taney Monument be removed and deaccessioned. As for the Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Monument and the Confederate Women's Monument, the Commission recommend they be retained but recontextualized. They also suggested that a small working committee, consisting of staff members from the CHAP, the Baltimore Office of Promotion and the Arts, and the Department of General Services' Historic Properties Program Coordinator, be tasked with implementing these recommendations. In addition, this committee would need to complete additional tasks, including "identifying legal requirements for deaccession, negotiating and executing agreement with potential recipients of the Lee Jackson and Roger B. Taney monuments, procuring funding, and receiving approval from the Maryland Historical Trust Easement Committee for moving the Lee Jackson monument."[169]

In terms of the legality and bureaucracy of what was possible in Baltimore, despite the Special Commissions' work and recommendations, any changes or alterations that would be made to the controversial sites would have to be granted by the Maryland Historical Trust (the State Historic Preservation Office), no matter what those recommendations might be. The Maryland Historical Trust plays an important role in this story, for it is the group that holds the easements on three of the four controversial monuments (Taney is not included). This meant that any changes or alterations to the

[169] Special Commission to Review Baltimore's Public Confederate Monuments, Report to Mayor Rawlings-Blake, p. 31.

monuments themselves or their surrounding sites could only be done with the written permission of the Director of the Trust.

In further complication of the law, the monuments and sites must also remain public, and any deaccessioning would need to follow a process to dispose of Baltimore city property (AM 306 and AM 306-1). This easement is the result of an agreement from March 14, 1984, between the City of Baltimore and the Maryland Historical Trust, which granted the right of the Trust to review any changes made to the monuments. As the Special Commission report noted, "The Deed of Easement was given in return for funding under the cyclical outdoor bronze sculpture maintenance program, administered by the CHAP staff."[170] Additionally, the monuments are in the care of the Department of Recreation and Parks, as stated in Article 7 Section 67 of the Baltimore City Charter. This all points to the fact that all of the possible action taken at these sites was beyond the carefully considered recommendations of the Special Commission, and would have to comply with the existing bureaucratic system.

Rawlings-Blake recommended that reinterpretative plaques be installed at each of the four sites in question, despite the Special Commission's recommendations. As noted in a report in *The Wall Street Journal* from September 2016, "Though Ms. Rawlings-Blake says she hasn't made a final decision, for now she wants the commission to develop new signs for all four pieces that explain the historic backdrop. 'We certainly should work to interpret it for today's context.'"[171]

There was opposition from certain community members, even for the suggestion that these signs be introduced. For example, Commander Terry Klima for the Maryland Division of the Sons of

[170] Special Commission to Review Baltimore's Public Confederate Monuments, Report to Mayor Rawlings-Blake, p. 28.
[171] Calvert, Scott, "Baltimore Struggles to Oust Monuments to Confederates," *Wall Street Journal,* Sept. 19, 2016, Accessed online.

Confederate Veterans opposed the changes stating, "We believe that's part of our history and it should remain."[172]

It should be noted that Baltimore Heritage, a non-profit historic preservation organization, did its own study on the Confederate memorials in Baltimore through research on the monuments and their historical context. Their report focused on compiling a complete and factual history of the sites and their context within the city, without offering any formal recommendations as the Special Commission had. There is no evidence that suggests the Special Commission consulted with Baltimore Heritage. There is also no evidence to suggest what motivated Baltimore Heritage to create their factual report, but their work proves that others were thinking about these issues as well, in non-subjective ways.

In 2015, Palo Machioli, a local artist created a counter-monument to Lee and Jackson, Madre Luz, a figure of a pregnant woman carrying a baby on her back. The project was done in partnership with activist Owen Silverman Andrews. Fifteen years ago, Machioli was living in Montevideo, Uruguay, and left to come the United States after the country suffered a financial crisis. Moving to Baltimore in 2003, he began to tinker in the arts, eventually becoming a full-time muralist. A friend suggested that he create a statue to protest the Lee and Jackson Monument. At first Machioli considered creating a figure of Harriet Tubman throwing a stick, but, as Machioli noted, it seemed too violent: "You cannot be violent to get peace."[173] Instead he opted for the Madre Luz figure, as a mother is a symbol of life. He said, "I feel like people would understand that and respect that."[174]

Machioli constructed Madre Luz out of papier mache from old copies of *The City Newspaper*, an alternative weekly Baltimore newspaper, which wound up folding in 2017. That Machioli made a

[172] Calvert, Scott, "Baltimore Struggles to Oust Monuments."
[173] Tkacik, Christina, "Meet the Artist Behind 'Madre Luz' – the Protest Statue in Wyman Park Dell," *The Baltimore Sun*, Aug. 16, 2017, Accessed online.
[174] Ibid.

conscious decision to use this newspaper as opposed to a more mainstream one shows a highly-critical approach to his project materials—Madre Luz is literally constructed out of a newspaper published expressly for and by the people. Papier mache is also a material antithetical to metal and stone, speaking to ephemerality and the fact that this is not a permanent monument, but rather something that can be changed. The figure, a mother, pregnant and carrying a baby on her back stands in stark contrast to Lee and Jackson as well. Not only is she female, and anonymous, but the child and promise of new life allude to the future, to progress, and to regeneration, rather than looking back in history. Madre Luz speaks to community, impermanence, and universality, its meaning open for interpretation by whomever sees it. Madre Luz was meant to symbolize life and anti-hatred.

Madre Luz first appeared on site at the Lee and Jackson Monument in 2015, but was quickly impounded in less than twenty-four hours and moved to Machioli's own building in the Greenmount West neighborhood where it was vandalized with graffiti like "white power," to which Machioli commented, "I can understand, people have a lot of pain and they transform the pain into hate."[175] From then on, Madre Luz had a life of her own, which picked up again after the events in Charlottesville.

Rawlings-Blake had hoped to resolve the issue of the monuments before she left office on December 6, 2016, but due to the legal questions regarding who had control over the sites, she wasn't able to do more than have the reinterpretive signs put in place on the sites. They were installed just days before the end of her term. At the Lee and Jackson Monument, the interpretive plaque included this text: "These two men became subjects of the Lost Cause movement which portrayed them as Christian soldiers and even as men who opposed slavery. Today current scholarship refutes these claims. These larger-than-life representations of Lee and Jackson helped perpetuate the Lost Cause

[175] Tkacik, "Meet the Artist Behind 'Madre Luz.'"

ideology, which advocated for white supremacy, portrayed slavery as benign, and justified secession."[176] The plaque goes on to mention the Special Commission, which provided "recommendations based on informed decisions and citizen input on how to address Baltimore's monuments that honor the Confederacy and the Lost Cause movement."[177]

There was a good chance that these interpretive plaques would have been the furthest change made to these sites, especially if the Maryland Historical Trust denied any of the city's requests to follow the Special Commission Report. However, the events in Charlottesville, Virginia reignited the discourse over Confederate monuments. On Sunday, August 13, 2017, over 1,000 people rallied in Baltimore at the Lee and Jackson Monument in solidarity with Charlottesville and to call on Baltimore to remove the monuments.

That night, the artist Machioli also reintroduced Madre Luz to the site of the Lee and Jackson Monument with the goal to "create a conversation."[178] By Monday, Madre Luz had been knocked down and damaged, her arm broken. Machioli returned to the site to make repairs, and said he would return again if necessary. It was also reported that a Choctaw man, Andrew Thompson, burned sage at the site while playing an Indian hymn on his cellphone "for the sake of safety and the people protesting. My people fought for the South," though he disagreed with the Baltimore protestors.[179] Thompson's presence speaks to the unifying, or at least collective, potential of the site. He also transcends the contentiousness of the site, favoring instead the safety of all people, not just one side.

On Tuesday, August 15, 2017, the new Mayor Catherine Pugh had all Confederate memorials in the city removed, creatively using the law in order to avoid a violent situation in Baltimore like

[176] Special Commission to Review Baltimore's Public Confederate Monuments, "Lee Jackson Monument, 1948: Wyman Park, Wyman Park Drive," Monument Commission, Accessed online.
[177] Ibid.
[178] Tkacik, "Meet the Artist Behind 'Madre Luz.'"
[179] Ibid.

Charlottesville had seen only three days prior. The Mayor of Baltimore has executive power to take action to protect the city; in other words, Baltimore has a public safety clause in its local preservation law that outweighs even the Trust's easement. Thus Pugh, attempting to avoid another Charlottesville, consulted with the Baltimore City Council. Councilman Brandon Scott put forth a resolution to remove all four of the monuments, for which the council voted unanimously. Pugh then wrote a letter to Maryland Historical Trust. Her will would be done.

In a stealth overnight operation from Tuesday into the early Wednesday morning August 17, the Confederate monuments were taken down without any prior public notice. Pugh was quoted in *The Baltimore Sun* the morning after they were removed saying, "We moved quickly and quietly. There was enough grandstanding, enough speeches being made. Get it done…They needed to come down. My concern is for the safety and security of our people."[180] Crews from Whiting-Turner moved in around 11:30pm, and left at about 5:30am on Wednesday, using heavy machinery to remove the four monuments.

At the time of the removal, there was a very real threat that Baltimore would become the next site of demonstration inspired by the events in Charlottesville, specifically because the city's monuments were still standing and therefore offered a backdrop for protest. The white supremacists who marched in Charlottesville threatened to come to Baltimore to demonstrate, according to William Cook, former associate general counsel at the National Trust for Historic Preservation.[181] Had the controversial monuments been allowed to remain on view, they might have drawn unwanted and potentially threatening guests.

[180] Campbell, Colin and Luke Broadwater, "Citing 'Safety and Security,' Pugh has Baltimore Confederate Monuments Taken Down," *The Baltimore Sun*, Aug. 16, 2017, Accessed online.
[181] Shavin, Naomi, "States are Using Preservation Laws to Block the Removal of Confederate Monuments," *Artsy*, April 24, 2018, Accessed online.

There was also a threat from within the city—a group of anti-monument protestors from Baltimore BLOC, a local grassroots collective, united to "decolonize communities and organize for kujichagulia (self-determination),"[182] had pledged to tear the Lee and Jackson monument down themselves on Wednesday the 16th if the city did not, following the example of protestors in Durham, North Carolina, who tore down their own Confederate Soldiers Monument on August 14.

It was very particular legal circumstances that allowed this monument removal to occur. Pugh, recognizing she could use the public safety clause, was able to act to remove the Confederate monuments sooner than would otherwise have been able. In fact, there's no knowing if the Trust would ever have allowed for removal. Notably, however, because of the fact that the city had already engaged in its Special Commission review, Pugh at least had heard the recommendations of the Special Commission, which reflected both historical and, to some degree, public input. Pugh and the City Council were not going into this decision blind. Thus ended a period of indecision about what to do with the sites, the monuments being pulled away on flatbed trucks to an undisclosed location, at least temporarily. Soon the sites themselves would need to be considered in their post-monument lives. As was to be expected, the opinions of the public were divided on the removals, some praising the action, and others expressing disappointment.

The discourse over what should happen to the sites after the monuments' removal was the result of the mayor and the city having acted without a clear or determined plan. However, Pugh was certainly aware that decisions would need to be made. By calling for explanatory plaques to be immediately put in place on the sites, Pugh shows that she recognized the significance and power of these sites, even now that they had lost their figural statues. Pugh publicly maintained that officials needed to decide what to do with the sites, and that "What should go in their place is a plaque of sorts

[182] Baltimore BLOC website, https://baltimorebloc.com.

that tells what was there and why it was removed. You can remove a statue, but it is a part of the history of this nation. I don't know why they were put there—I wasn't here at the time—but I do know they're offensive to many people in this nation."[183] Pugh realized she had to do something immediately with these sites, although major decisions about their futures couldn't be determined or implemented quickly. Adding the plaques was a top-down decision to interpret these sites through additive measures until additional action was decided upon.

The sites, absent their figural statues, immediately saw a rush in visitation, with large numbers of people descending upon them to witness this historic event. Madre Luz was also reintroduced, raised up by Machioli in place of Lee and Jackson, and became one of, if not the first, post-monument removal intervention on this site. Once the news began to spread that the monuments were gone, it was reported that many people visited the sites, taking photos and engaging in heated conversations with strangers. By Thursday afternoon, Madre Luz was once again knocked down and crushed by a male who then escaped in his car, "the baby crumbled and chunks of papier mache strewn about, revealing chicken wire underneath."[184] When Machioli got the news and arrived on site, he was disheartened, but not surprised, commenting on the irony of the situation: two years ago they had been fined for placing the statue in public, but today, the police were leaving them alone.[185] Machioli also noted, "Now we are in a process of change;" he had always known Madre Luz might be vandalized or pulled down but what's more important is keeping the conversation going about the "significance of statues."[186] A week after the Lee and Jackson Monument was removed, there was nothing on site except for an empty pedestal

[183] Campbell and Broadwater, "Citing 'Safety and Security."
[184] Tkacik, "Meet the Artist Behind 'Madre Luz.'"
[185] Tkacik, Christina, "'Madre Luz' Protest Statue in Wyman Park Dell Intentionally Knocked Over, Police Say (Update)" *The Baltimore Sun*, Aug. 17, 2017, Accessed online.
[186] Ibid.

and a few potted plants.[187] One visitor to the site, Charles Hopwood, a retired city employee had this to say: "Keeping it empty makes a statement on its own."[188]

Pugh received much praise for her decisive action, and "a moment in the national spotlight that for a change didn't involve negative news about crime, police brutality or police corruption" was welcome.[189] It also only cost the city $20,000 to remove the monuments, while other cities had spent much more, such as New Orleans, who spent over $2 million. Pugh also noted that Baltimore had "become a model for how other cities could handle their own controversial monuments."[190] This echoes the sentiments of the Special Commission, that concluded its Report stating much the same thing. In their words,

> "The conversation surrounding the issue of what should be done with these monuments is in many ways as important as the final recommendations produced here. This report documents a civil discussion about an important and painful topic, and provides a model for how local governments can engage with the public to discuss similarly painful subjects…The goal is to ensure that this process does not erase, hide, or misinterpret history. This Commission's decision-making process should be preserved and accessible, allowing citizens now and in the future to understand and analyze how these conclusions were reached…It is not the responsibility of each generation to judge past generations. It is, however, every generation's responsibility to clear the way for the truth to be heard."[191]

[187] Kennedy, Merrit, "Baltimore Took Down Confederate Monuments. Now it Has to Decide What to do With Them," *NPR*, Aug. 28, 2017, Accessed online.
[188] Ibid.
[189] Marbella, Jean, "One Year Since Baltimore's Confederate Monuments Were Removed in the Night, the Issues They Raised Remain," *The Baltimore Sun*, Aug. 16, 2018, Accessed online.
[190] Ibid.
[191] Special Commission to Review Baltimore's Public Confederate Monuments, Report to Mayor Rawlings-Blake, p. 32.

The Special Commission hoped their work could serve as a model for other places dealing with similar issues—they stressed the preservation of their actual process, calling for it to be kept in a publicly accessible location for anyone to see should they so desire.

The speculation over what to do with the remaining sites thus began, which stirred up an ongoing public debate that continues to this day. *NPR* reported that Pugh liked the idea of using the spaces to honor those who had made a positive contribution to the city; she doesn't want people to forget what used to stand there: "Because I think it is important that people know what did stand there and why. And the reasons for which they came down…But these kinds of decisions should not be made alone."[192] There is not yet a timeline for determining the next steps. Pugh also noted that proposals from artists were being submitted as well.

In an article published by *The Baltimore Sun*, on October 15, 2017, about fifteen members of the community gathered to discuss the removal of the four monuments and what should take their place. The sentiment in the room, as it was at three similar previous meetings, was one of concern, but people all respectfully listened to one another's suggestions. Fundraising would follow in order to raise money for replacement statues. There was talk of the need for artists, activists, and educators to be at the center of the process. Much of the conversation revolved around the empty pedestals still standing in place and what that means for the city. Charles Brenton, a landscape architect said, "What's the city about? It doesn't bother me having (the pedestals) stay a while, to pose that question."[193] And Machioli himself said, "The solution should be from what we are doing. Listening to each other."[194]

[192] Kennedy, Merrit, "Baltimore Took Down Confederate Monuments."
[193] Rector, Kevin, "Baltimore Artists, Activists and Educators Ask What's Next After Removal of Confederate Statues," *The Baltimore Sun*, Oct. 15, 2017, Accessed online.
[194] Ibid.

Silverman Andrews, the activist that helped Machioli bring Mother Luz to life said, "Removing is the non-racist thing to do. But what is the anti-racist thing to do?"[195] This is a very poignant question. It implies that there needs to be further action beyond simply taking the monument down in order for the site to speak a new message. To remove the monument is safe and straighforward. To reintroduce new meaning to the site is more complicated. What interventions speak to anti-racism, rather than simply removing controversy?

Two and a half years after Lee and Jackson were removed, the site was renamed "Harriet Tubman Grove" on March 10, 2018. The effort to rename the site was led by a grassroots movement and passed into bill by the city council. In November 2018, the Friends of Wyman Park Dell hosted a planning workshop to consider strategies for further dealing with the site.

[195] Rector, Kevin, "Baltimore Artists, Activists and Educators Ask What's Next After Removal of Confederate Statues," *The Baltimore Sun*, Oct. 15, 2017, Accessed online.

CHAPTER FIVE

Nathan Bedford Forrest, Health Sciences Park, Memphis, Tennessee

Chapter Five investigates the Nathan Bedford Forrest Monument and Health Sciences Park in Memphis, Tennessee. The processes in Memphis that led to the removal of the Forrest statue are representative of the some of the types of legal wrangling that may be necessary in order to work around the preservation laws that dictate what can be done at the sites of monuments. The city council, understanding the legal terrain in their state, were able to creatively work around the law to achieve their aims, however, it is also the same legal structure that is preventing any conclusive work from being accomplished.

Dedicated on May 16, 1905, the monument to Confederate General Nathan Bedford Forrest stood for over one-hundred years in Health Sciences Park, formerly known as Forrest Park, in Memphis, Tennessee. The centerpiece of nationally renowned landscape architect George Kessler's design for Forrest Park, this equestrian statue by sculptor Charles H. Niehaus depicts and honors the influential Memphian Lt. General Nathan Bedford Forrest. Forrest was a skilled cavalry officer for the Confederacy during the Civil War (his tactics are still studied at West Point). However, he also oversaw the massacre of black Union soldiers trying to surrender at the Battle of Fort Pillow in West Texas, was a plantation owner and slave dealer, and, after the war, a co-founder and the first Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan. As noted by Brent Staples, Forrest "consolidate(ed) a ragtag collection of secret societies into a group that became a factor in national civic life...(and) embodied the predations of white supremacy."[196] On

[196] Staples, Brent, "Monuments to White Supremacy," Editorial Observer, *The New York Times*, Jan. 9, 2018, Accessed online.

December 20, 2017, the monument was taken down, the culmination of decades of contention over this and other sites within the city.

The Forrest Memorial Association (FMA) was incorporated in November 1891, with a mission to erect a statue in Forrest's memory. In 1887, ten years after Forrest's death, this effort began in terms of fundraising, spearheaded by three men, James E. Beasley, Col. W. F. Taylor, and W. W. Schoolfield. By January 1900, the group had raised over $14,000. The initial cornerstone laying ceremony took place on Memorial Day 1901, during the reunion of the Confederate Historical Association (CHA) in Memphis. This event was well-attended, with thousands of people coming to witness the laying of the cornerstone, including politicians and veterans.

The truth is that this cornerstone and this date was merely symbolic—the park and the design for the monument had not yet been designed. Later this original cornerstone would be removed. In 1904 the actual setting of the masonry for the monument's base took place, "with no fanfare."[197] The 1901 event was the FMA and the CHA's way of garnering publicity and support for the project, likely with the intention of increasing their fundraising efforts. Their efforts were successful—in October 1904, an auxiliary of the Ladies of Memphis donated another $2,955.51 to the cause.

The sculptor Charles H. Niehaus was officially contracted to design the statue of Forrest on August 14, 1901, after having been contacted by the FMA and sharing with them a maquette of the statue. He was asked to depict the general atop his favorite horse, King Philip. Niehaus' design was based on Classical precedent, in particular the equestrian statue Marcus Aurelius in Rome, another imperial leader and colonizer whose rule was marked by military conflict. Niehaus' decision to depict Forrest in the style of this sovereign leader speaks to his desire to cast Forrest as someone similar, all-powerful, victorious, and honorable. The final model of the statue was completed in 1904, approved for

[197] "Forrest Park Historic District," National Register of Historic Places, Registration form, Jan. 27, 2009, p. 10.

casting by the FMA, and was cast in bronze at the Paris foundry of E. Gruet, Jr., shipping to the United States in January 1905, and, by way of New York and Savannah, received in Memphis on April 7, 1905. The heroically scaled statue is one and a half times life-sized and weighs 9,500 pounds.

In anticipation of the arrival and erection of the monument in Forrest Park, the remains of Forrest himself as well as those of his wife, Mary Ann Montgomery, were disinterred from Elmwood Cemetery, also in Memphis, and approved for reinterment at Forrest Park by the Memphis Park Commission. The formal reinterment ceremony took place on November 11, 1904.

Local Memphis architect B. C. Alsop designed the plinth, base, and pedestal of the monument, which were constructed from Tennessee marble quarried from the Republic Marble Quarry in Concord and finished at the Ross Marble Company of Knoxville. The base is set within the plinth, with stairs on the north and south sides, and stone benches along the east and west. There are also granite markers on the base of the statue indicating that Forrest and his wife are buried there.

In total, the FMA spent $32,359.53 on the monument, including design, construction, and installation. It stood twenty-one feet six inches tall (the statue of Forrest is twelve feet tall, the pedestal seven feet, and the terrace, or plinth, two feet six inches). The plinth includes some planting beds as well. Additionally, there were six post-top perimeter lights (which were replaced in 1985 with reproduction cast concrete post-top directional lighting that floods the statue).[198]

The monument's dedication ceremony took place on May 15, 1905, and an estimated 30,000 people from seven states attended. In addition to a series of speeches, Forrest's granddaughter, age eight, officially unveiled the statue.

[198] "Forrest Park Historic District," National Register of Historic Places, p. 2.

As a public site, the monument only operated as a backdrop for city-wide events involving the memory of Forrest himself, but remained a central part of the urban landscape on a day-to-day basis for the citizens of Memphis. In the 1960s, coinciding with the civil rights era, Forrest and his legacy fell from public favor. However, Tennessee still celebrated, as they continue to do today, "Nathan Bedford Forrest Day," July 13, Forrest's birthday, which by law, the governor must proclaim annually, per a Tennessee state law passed in 1969, as they still do Robert E. Lee Day.[199] Brent Staples suggests this might have been the Legislature's way of "thumbing its nose at the civil rights movement," or perhaps "reflects a broader backlash from Confederate nostalgists determined to force those repulsed by Forrest into his shadow,"[200] much the way the Confederate monuments themselves do. Nevertheless, the law continues to be "particularly appalling at a time (2018) when white supremacists are rallying to the Confederate cause and sowing hate from coast to coast."[201]

In the decades following the Forrest Monument's erection, the site was the location of ongoing tension, with both supporters and opponents of the monument interacting with it in various significant ways, which challenged its collective meaning in the community. During the 1970s and 1980s, calls for the removal of Forrest's statue and grave intensified. 1986 saw the Forrest Monument defaced with graffiti, someone painting "KKK" on the statue. In 1988, the University of Tennessee had scheduled a ceremony to recognize its adoption of Forrest Park (the park sits in the middle of the University's medical complex), coinciding with a public ceremony honoring the university's outgoing president, Edward J. Bowling. In response, the Memphis chapter of the NAACP attempted to have the remains of Forrest and his wife removed from the site. The ceremony was cancelled, but Forrest's descendants denied the disinterment. The statue was vandalized with paint in 1992, and again in 1994, as the Sons

[199] State Symbols USA, Tennessee Holidays and Observances, https://statesymbolsusa.org/symbol-official-item/tennessee/state-holiday-event/observed-days.
[200] Staples, "Monuments to White Supremacy."
[201] Ibid.

of Confederate Veterans celebrated their 173rd anniversary in Memphis. Spray painted on the statue were the phrases "racist murderer," "slave trader," and "the man on the horse…head of the KKK." [202] In 1995, the Center City Commission, a 20-person group dedicated to the redevelopment of downtown Memphis (now the Downtown Memphis Commission), voted against removing the statue and the remains from the site. In 1999, a group called Inward Journey African American Council unofficially renamed Forrest Park the Nat Turner Park, referencing Turner, an African-American slave who famously led a slave rebellion in 1831.

By the early twenty-first century, there was considerable local activity that attempted to recontextualize the site, an indication that since its erection the monument and its site might not be appropriately representative of the greater Memphis community. In August 2005, the Center City Commission again made news when it asked the City Council to consider officially renaming Forrest Park and other Confederate parks in the city, in a resolution spearheaded by then chairman Rickey Peete and board member (later director) Paul Morris. Karl Schledwitz, a local attorney and University of Tennessee trustee, next submitted a proposal to remove the Forrest remains from the site and return them to Elmwood Cemetery. Another proposal, from City Councilman Myron Lowery, suggested that a second more modest monument be added to the site depicting Ida B. Wells, the legendary Memphis newspaper editor, and/or other black heroic figures, and that the name be changed. This all instigated protests, including a rally hosted by a local group called Save Our Parks. There was also objection from the Sons of Confederate Veterans, who pledged $10,000 to fight name-changing proposals.[203]

In response to this flurry of activity, a "Rally for Dignity" was held as a protest for change at the city's contentious Confederate sites. The event was attended by about 250 people, including the Rev. Al

[202] Poe, Ryan, "Memphis Haunted by Long, Conflicting History with Confederate Monuments," *USA Today Network, Tennessee*, Aug. 15, 2017, Accessed online.
[203] Denney, Pamela, "Monumental Battle: Answers to the Confederate Parks Controversy Aren't Inscribed in Black and White," *The Memphis Flyer*, Aug. 19, 2005, Accessed online.

Sharpton who participated in the event on the invitation of the local Rev. L. LaSimba Gray. Sharpton was criticized by some, including the mayor, for representing "outside agitators"[204] from beyond the Memphis community who were trying to involve themselves in what was at this time still largely seen as a local issue. The then Mayor Willie Herenton, an African American, released his own recommendations: don't rename the parks, but convey ownership of the land to the University of Tennessee and the Riverfront Development Corporation; he amended those recommendations a week later saying the city should maintain park ownership but relinquish maintenance agreements; he also announced his intention to seek a fifth term as mayor,[205] which makes one wonder about his motives. Finally, the resolution to change the name of Forrest Park was ignored by the City Council, as well as by the Chamber of Commerce, the Landmarks Commission, and the Convention & Visitors Bureau,[206] but the issue was not forgotten by local invested parties.

The New York Times, which picked up on the activity regarding Forrest Park that same month, acknowledged some of the controversies, but remained hesitant to take a side. The authors noted how off the beaten track the site was, implying that it might not be as central or significant a controversy as it might be had the park been more centrally located within the city. They commented, "These days, Forrest Park is more debated than visited. Thousands of cars pass by it every day on the main street leading to downtown, but it is beyond walking distance from tourist attractions like Beale Street and the Peabody Hotel."[207]

It should also be noted that in 2008, the University of Tennessee Health Center, or UTHSC, officially came under contract with the city to manage the park property.

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[204] Denney, "Monumental Battle."
[205] Ibid.
[206] Baker, Jackson, "Into the Sunset: The Effort of Move Nathan Bedford Forrest From His Place of Honor Signifies a Quantum Change in the Consciousness of Memphis," *The Memphis Flyer*, July 16, 2015, Accessed online.
[207] Branston, John, "In a City on the Move, A Civil War Issue Refused to Die," *The New York Times*, Aug. 5, 2005, Accessed online.

On March 4, 2009, Forrest Park was added to the National Register of Historic Places, formalizing this site's significance with at least one representative organization from within the preservation field, but also speaks to the attempts of the monument's supporters to begin paving the way for its legal protection in light of the recent controversies. The nomination form, which had been submitted by N. B. Forrest Camp 215 of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, a group devoted to the memory of Forrest, cited the Forrest Monument as one of its contributing objects. Specifically, the nomination calls out the monument's "integral stone plinth, base and pedestal,"[208] foreshadowing the legal debates to come regarding this site, as it is these particular elements of the site have contributed to lawsuits currently delaying any further action from taking place on the site post the removal of the Forrest statue itself. The nomination also notes, "There are pressures on the park to change this important piece of American landscape design, art history and community planning history—some in positive ways, other proposals in negative ways—but it is hoped that this nomination will focus this discussion towards preserving its significant features."[209]

This move on the part of N. B. Forest Camp 215 to have the site nominated for the National Register was a safeguard against any potential future threats, indicated by then the decades-long controversy surrounding the site, and the increasingly frequent proposals to either have the Forrest Monument removed or the Forrests' remains disinterred. It is clear from this verbiage ("other proposals in negative ways") that there is likely a second agenda at play here, aside from simply getting this site on the National Register. If the monument and the grave could be counted among the significant characteristics of the historic place, the chances of them being removed, or the site changed at all, even in name only, would decrease significantly. But even despite its addition onto the National Register, as Bill Reynolds, spokesman with the National Park Service in Atlanta, noted, "If the city makes changes to

[208] "Forrest Park Historic District," National Register of Historic Places, p. 4.
[209] Ibid, p. 14.

the site in some way, shape or form that would or could cause a potential review of the status of the site, it could cause it to lose its designation if the historical integrity of the site is compromised in any way."[210] In other words, the National Registration designation would protect the site to some degree legally. If any subsequent changes were ever made there, this could cause the designation to be removed. This preservation tool could only do so much considering the rest of the city and state's legal framework.

Despite the National Register nomination, the site was ushered into in a relative period of calm lasting a few years. As former Shelby County Commissioner and attorney Walter Bailey said in March 2009, "I think we're at a point where until such time as we see some concern by our city leaders, we have to continue to pause," and suggested that the city's leaders were "being so passive about it."[211] Bailey, along with his brother D'Army, also incidentally had been involved in the eradication of Lost Cause and Confederate symbolism locally, and therefore had been keeping his eye on the site. It was he who alerted the city to a new provocation on the part of Forrest's supporters and N. B. Forrest Camp 215.

In mid-year 2012, a thirteen-foot wide solid granite marker that said "Forrest Park," in bold, capital letters appeared on site, near the edge of downtown Memphis. About a week before Christmas, the sign disappeared, "leaving a scar in the earth where it had been, hastily covered up with a blanket of fresh-turned grass and earth."[212] As *The Memphis Flyer* reported, only two facts regarding the case were made immediately clear: first, the sign had been bought and paid for by N. B. Forrest Camp 215, and second, George Little, CAO of Memphis City Government, and right-hand man of then-current

[210] Moore, Linda A., "Forrest Park on Historic Register: Designation Puts Efforts to Change Name On Hold," *The Commercial Appeal*, March 19, 2015, Accessed online.
[211] Ibid.
[212] Baker, Jackson, "Sign of the Times? A Large Granite Marker in Forrest Park is Erected by Members of the Sons of the Confederate Veterans, Then Disappears. What Happened?" *The Memphis Flyer*, Jan. 10, 2013, Accessed online.

mayor A. C. Wharton, had ordered the sign removed and taken to city storage where it remains.[213] Bailey first brought the incident to Little's attention, and later followed up with a three-part file on the matter, all amounting to a conclusion that the continued present-day devotion to Forrest was indicative of the support people of Memphis still had for white supremacy.

N. B. Forrest Camp 215 had previously erected a two-sided bronze marker on the site in 2004, which told of how the camp had "helped raise funds for the Forrest Equestrian Monument dedicated in this park in 1905, and in 2002 it funded the replacement of the weathered gravestones of Forrest and his wife at the Monument."[214] And it is true that the camp had also spent a lot of time and energy tending to and maintaining the site (both the monument itself and the lawn surrounding it) over the years. Yet the camp did not have much of a platform to stand on in terms of its justification for erecting this second large stone.

Lee Millar had written a letter to Memphis city park director Cindy Buchanan, proposing a new sign on the site that said "Forrest Park;" Millar, an officer with N.B. Camp 215, had not signed this letter as a representative of the camp, but rather as the chairman of the Shelby County Historical Commission, a role he held at the time. In response, Buchanan sent a letter back to "Lee Millar, Chairman, Shelby County Historical Commission," dated March 21, 2011, which said "We appreciate the commissions' offer to provide this important signage for one of the city's historic parks…The proposal to create a low monument style sign of Tennessee granite with the park name carved in the front was reviewed by park design staff and found to be appropriate in concept…similar to the monument style placed by the city at Overton Park."[215] She then went on to direct Millar to consult with Mike Flowers, administrator of park planning and development (who also received a copy of the letter), in order to follow though on the

[213] Baker, "Sign of the Times?"
[214] Ibid.
[215] Ibid.

construction and installation process. However, Millar did not follow-though on this instruction to meet with Flowers. The camp raised $9,000 for the sign, and placed the sign on the site themselves.

Little finally decided to have the sign removed, stating that N. B. Forrest Camp 215 had acted outside of the city's normal processes: "To me, it's a matter of process. We do have processes in city government, and there's a way to go about making changes in city property. We can't just allow citizens to put their own signs and monuments up without some kind of official approval."[216] Even though the park at that time was being managed by the UTHSC, it was still city property and any changes would require official approval. Therefore, although Little personally may have had trouble with the sign, or with disassociating the incident from the controversy regarding Forrest, he was able to rely on the law to make a legitimate move.

In 2013, at last an official step, but one that expressed the city's "long simmering discontent," was taken regarding the site. Memphis City Council expunged the names from three city parks, including Forrest Park, arguing "sensibly" that the names were "intolerable for a majority-black city and anathema to the cosmopolitan image that Memphis wanted to project." [217] The council voted to have the Forrest Park's name changed to Health Sciences Park, in reference to the University of Tennessee, who took control of the park under the UTHSC. Along with the name change for Forrest park, the vote was also in favor of changing the name of Confederate Park to Memphis Park, and Jefferson Davis Park to Mississippi River Park. The 9-0 vote, with three members abstaining, would immediately change the names. *The Commercial Appeal* reported Councilman Lee Harris stating, "The parks are changed. It's done. We removed controversial names and then named them something that is less controversial."[218]

[216] Baker, "Sign of the Times?"
[217] Staples, "Monuments to White Supremacy."
[218] Stanglin, Doug, "Memphis Changes Names of 3 Confederate-Themed Parks," *USA Today*, Feb. 6, 2013, Accessed online.

The Memphis Daily News reported that the new names might only be temporary until more permanent ones were chosen.[219] As of today, the names have remained the same.

The council's action was taken in response to the news that a new bill was being presented to the Tennessee legislature, called the "Tennessee Heritage Preservation Act of 2013," HB553, sponsored by Tennessee Representative Steve McDaniel and Tennessee Senator Bill Ketron. The bill, which had just been filed, stated that "no statue, monument, memorial, nameplate, or plaque which has been erected for, or named or dedicated in honor of…" any American war, and "…located on public property, may be relocated, removed, altered, renamed, rededicated, or otherwise disturbed."[220] The list of American wars naturally included the Civil War. The bill would also prohibit name changes to any "statue, monument, memorial, nameplate, plaque, historic flag display, school, street, bridge, building, park preserve, or reserve which has been erected for, or named or dedicated in honor of, any historical military figure, historical military event, military organization, or military unit" on public property.[221]

The bill was rushed into passage. Much like the action that was taken in order to place Forrest Park on the National Register of Historic Places, this bill too seems meant specifically to prevent contemporary changes to the Forrest Monument and other Confederate sites in the city. The City Council was acting in a similar fashion, but on the opposite side of the debate, using the law to advance an agenda that might lead to the deaccessioning of these sites. Plus, the City Council was angry at what they saw as the state legislature's transgression against local government. In what sounds like an attempt to make a case for the city's autonomy within the state, councilman Shea Flinn was quoted as saying, "We will never let the legislature in Nashville control what we in Memphis will do for

[219] Dries, Bill, "Council Changes Names of 3 Civil War Parks" *The Memphis Daily News, Memphis*, Feb. 6, 2013, Accessed online.
[220] Baker, Jackson, "Council Changes Names of Forrest Park, Confederate Park, and Jefferson Davis Park," *The Memphis Flyer*, Feb. 5, 2013, Accessed online.
[221] Baker, Jackson, "Council Changes Names of Forrest Park, Confederate Park, and Jefferson Davis Park," *The Memphis Flyer*, Feb. 5, 2013, Accessed online.

ourselves."[222] Yet, the truth of the matter is that the City of Memphis *is* finally beholden to state law no matter what might be desired locally.

The Sons of Confederate Veterans and others opposed the name changes, and the controversy led to a KKK rally and lawsuits challenging the changes.[223] In May, Citizens to Save Our Park, along with nine local Memphis residents, filed a lawsuit claiming the City Council did not have the legal authority to change the names of the park, naming the City of Memphis and the City Council as defendants. Citing an article from 2005, this group claimed that only the mayor had the right to change the name prior to April 1 (as opposed to the City Council)—the article had quoted Council Attorney Alan Wade as stating that the mayor's administration had the authority to name or rename parks, not the council.[224]

The suit was filed in support of overturning outright the ruling which renamed the parks in the first place, but also went back to the issue over the removed "Forrest Park" stone, asking that a declaration be made stating that the removal of the sign on the part of the city was illegal and invalid, having been "illegally and surreptitiously removed" without notice.[225] The sign, the suit claimed, was installed on site with the Park Services Division's approval.

In response, the City of Memphis challenged this lawsuit brought against them, filing a motion via the Memphis City Council to have it dismissed a month later, in June 2013. In September, the Forrest Monument was again vandalized, with an anti Ku Klux Klan message painted in red.

All of this tension would soon come to head following the tragic events in Charleston in 2015, leading to the formal removal of Memphis' Confederate monuments. At this point, with the nation in an uproar over racial tensions and the use of certain symbols in the public realm, Memphis would be faced

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[222] Baker, "Into the Sunset."
[223] Stanglin, "Memphis Changes Names."
[224] "N. B. Forrest Monument: The Complete Story," *Historic Memphis*, http://historic-memphis.com/memphis-historic/forrest-sculpture/forrest-sculpture.html.
[225] Ibid.

with having to make some definitive tough choices on issues that they had already been dealing with for some time. There was by now a growing national conversation over what to do with the nation's Confederate monuments, in which Memphis squarely found itself. On July 7, 2015, a little under a month following what happened in Charleston, the City Council voted unanimously to approve the removal of both the Forrest Monument as well as to have Forrest's and his wife's remains removed from the site. Additionally, the council began looking into options for selling the monument. Unlike in 2005 and 2013, there was "no hint of a contrary view on the council;" council chairman Lowery's resolution to return the remains to Elmwood and an ordinance to remove the monument were "announced almost immediately" after Charleston, Memphis having made a "quantum leap in consciousness" regarding the Forrest controversy.[226] The Forrest Monument was again vandalized shortly after, this time with a reference to Black Lives Matter.[227]

And as all of this decades-long back and forth action and litigation suggests the contention over the Forrest Monument and the other Confederate monuments in the city loomed large. Two sides, those who would like to see these symbols of the Confederacy and the Lost Cause removed, or at least diminished, and those who are insistent on them remaining, remained in stark opposition to one another. Each side, however, made significant attempts to utilize the law on their behalves, using legislation to push forward their agendas. As is evident, the law therefore was being played off of itself, with still no major decisions or compromises being made.

The night the proposals to remove the Forrest Monument and the remains were approved, testimony was given on the part of Forrest's supporters who tried to attest to Forrest's character, who attempted to use the argument that they were in support of "heritage," not "hate." But what constitutes heritage, and who gets to make those decisions? The Forrest supporters claimed Forrest

[226] Baker, "Into the Sunset."
[227] Poe, "Memphis Haunted by Long, Conflicting History."

was not complicit in the Battle of Fort Pillow, and that he was not really the founder of the Ku Klux Klan. Or, if he did happen to be involved with the KKK, the organization was not intended to be racist at its core, or that if it eventually became racist, Forrest had by that time already disassociated himself.[228] As Frank Trafford, a member of N.B. Forrest Camp 215, stated, "(Forrest) wasn't the vicious character that some people make out. Anyway, that was a different time, and what we are trying to emphasize is heritage, not hate."[229] But does claiming that it was "a different time" make it justifiable to use a man of Forrest's character to push forward a certain agenda today? And finally, there is one fact that is undeniable—Forrest was a slave trader, voluntarily profiting from the sale of people. Slavery was the institution at the heart of the Confederacy.

Forrest and his legacy were proving to be harder to justify and defend, and the situation as a whole was hurting the city. This was true for not only the city's "African-American population, now a political majority, but to business interests and civic-minded folk who saw the official veneration of Forrest as an embarrassment and a hindrance to civic progress."[230] The City Council approval to remove the Forrest Monument was a step in the direction of changing the meaning of this site. Meanwhile the site had also become the location of ad hoc and grassroots protests. Black Lives Matter used the Forrest Monument as the backdrop for their own protests, and several times the monument was spray painted with the movement's tagline, including in August 2015, one year after the death of Michael Brown[231] and on into the summer of 2016.

The legality of removal continued to get trickier and more complicated over the next few years. On October 21, 2016, it was announced that the Tennessee Historical Commission had rejected the

[228] Baker, "Into the Sunset."
[229] Baker, "Sign of the Times?"
[230] Baker, "Into the Sunset."
[231] Taylor, Eryn and Mike Suriani, "Nathan Bedford Forrest Statue Vandalized with 'Black Lives Matter,'" *News Channel 3, WREG Memphis*, August 10, 2015.

application for the monument's removal and relocation, citing criteria the commission had adopted before their vote. On behalf of the City of Memphis, Wade, the attorney representing the city, filed for a waiver in March 2016 for the Tennessee Heritage Preservation Act, the 2013 act that would prohibit cities or counties from removing, renaming, or altering any war memorials on public property. In the waiver Wade asked that the Forrest Monument be moved to a "more suitable location."[232] This could only be done if the Commission granted its approval. In their application, the City Council bolstered their argument by explaining that there were already some options for relocating the Forrest Monument—the City of Savannah and the National Civil War Trust had both expressed interest in taking the monument. Moving monuments, however, arguably just moves the problem somewhere else rather than solving the problem, so it is interesting that certain other cities or organizations would be willing to take them.

However, the Commission denied the City Council the wavier to the Tennessee Heritage Protection Act due to the fact that just a year ago, in October 2015, they had adopted criteria that stated "a historic site on the National Register of Historic Places is not subject to waiver."[233] In order for the Commission to have granted the waiver, they would have had to rescind that criteria. The 2009 introduction of the Forrest Monument to the National Register of Historic places was paying off for its supporters at last. The best the City Council believed they could do at this point was to submit another waiver.

In addition to the criteria stating that a historic site on the National Register is not subject to waiver, there was also an amendment in 2016 to the Tennessee Heritage Preservation Act, the state's historic preservation law, which said that memorials and monuments on public land were protected

[232] Miller, Jay, "Nathan Bedford Forrest Statue Won't be Relocated," *Special to the News Sentinel*, Oct. 21, 2016, Accessed online.
[233] Voon, Claire, "Tennessee Commission Rejects City's Request to Remove Monument to First Grand Wizard of KKK," *Hyperallergic*, Oct. 24, 2016, Accessed online

from alteration or removal.[234] (Previous to 2018 it was still permissible to sell a memorial, but a 2018 amendment to the Act made this illegal.[235]) As William Cook, former associate general counsel at the National Trust for Historic Preservation has noted, the states, including Tennessee, that have passed these laws "took an extraordinary leap into attempting to quash local government decisions regarding their treatment of Confederate monuments."[236] Beyond an expression of aversion to allowing the Forrest Monument to be taken down, the State of Tennessee used the law to justify, or at least protect, its interests.

In October 2017, a state appeals court ruled that the city's right to rename the parks in 2013 was legal. The Sons of Confederate Veterans had filed a suit challenging the new names of the previously named Forrest Park (Health Sciences Park), Confederate Park (Fourth Bluff Park), and Jefferson Davis Park (Mississippi River Park). This was another blow for their side.

Around this time a grassroots organization began to take center stage in the monument controversy in Memphis, adding another layer to an already complicated situation. Activist and educator Tami Sawyer started up the community-based group Take 'em Down 901 (Memphis' area code is 901), which "aims to remove glorified confederate memorials from the public spaces of Memphis, TN prior to the 50th anniversary of Dr. King's murder so that everyone is welcome in our community."[237] Sawyer and her group actively petitioned starting in May 2017, to move the Forrest Monument as well as other Confederate symbols in the city, protesting regularly, oftentimes resulting in police action and arrests, and using citizen action to incite change. Additionally, they had a petition on Change.org addressed to the Historical Commission, for which they gained 4,500 signatures in support of monument

[234] Shavin, "States are Using Preservation Laws."
[235] Dries, Bill, "Chancery Court Rules Sale and Removal of Confederate Monuments Legal," *The Memphis Daily News*, May 17, 2018, Accessed online.
[236] Shavin, "States are Using Preservation Laws.
[237] TakeEmDown901 website, https://www.ioby.org/project/takeemdown901.

removal. They used the hashtag #TakeEmDown901 to gain exposure, and their first Twitter post was made on June 11, 2017. They were explicit in the fact that this movement coincided with the 50th anniversary of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s assassination, which took place in Memphis, and for which the city would be observing on April 4, 2018. They had about a year to achieve their goals of getting the Confederate Monuments to come down.

In another voice of highly-publicized community support for the removal of the city's Confederate monuments, then Memphis Grizzlies coach, David Fizdale, also called for the monuments' removal: "I don't know what the hesitation is, I don't know what we're waiting on…Whatever gets those things down immediately, we got to do it. It splits people apart."[238]

Concurrently, Mayor Jim Strickland had also promised to have the monuments removed before the anniversary of King's assassination. Despite not knowing what Strickland's direct motives were for his support of this action, the truth is that for the past three months it was costing Memphis at least $13,000 a day, for added police presence at the sites,[239] the result of their becoming the target of protests and potential vandalism. Other calculations state that the Police Department spent $55,031 in overtime pay to guard the Forrest and Davis Monuments, in addition to the $8,795 for officers "detailed to the park on days when events did not occur."[240]

In an interview with *The Memphis Flyer* conducted September 6, 2017, Sawyer was asked why she was "putting so much effort into something symbolic when you could be working on the big problems. So is changing the story—that these were great men—real, or is it symbolic?" She replied,

[238] MLK50 Memphis, Justice Through Journalism, "The Confederacy Falls in Memphis: City Council Sells Forrest, Davis Statues to Memphis Greenspace, Which Immediately Took Them Down," *MLK50 Memphis*, Dec. 20, 2017, Accessed online.
[239] Ibid.
[240] Royer, David, "Memphis City Council Votes on Ordinance to Remove Confederate Statues," *News Channel 3, WREG Memphis*, Dec. 20, 2017, Accessed online.

> "It's both. It's not just symbolic if we are able to continue a movement out of this. If we're able to change conversations and make them about what social, racial, and economic justice really looks like. (It isn't) more than symbolic if the statues come down and everyone goes home and says 'racism is solved in Memphis,' which is my fear. It's more than symbolic because you're in a 65% black City with the founder of the KKK, or Grand Wizard, or whatever big man he was in the early days of the Ku Klux Klan. And we've also got Jefferson Davis, the president of the Confederacy. I can tell you all the stories about what they said or what they did, but the bottom line is, they felt they were superior to black people and their treatment of the black people was odious at best, no matter what Nathan Bedford Forrest did when he got dementia. Don't Give A fuck, and you can print that. I don't care what you renounce at 85, or whatever." [241]

Saywer's reference to Forrest's "dementia" is a reference to the argument his supporters make for why he might have been a racist, and his "renouncing" at 85 is a reference to the possibility he freed his slaves at this late age, essentially making him out to be of a higher moral character than earlier in his life.

Sawyer also talks about these contentious monuments as not necessarily being a conscious part of the day to day lives of the residents of Memphis, but still playing a big role in expressing the power structure behind those who had them erected in the first place. Despite the fact that one might not pay attention to these sites on a regular basis, they still represent the eminent power of the Lost Cause and those who continue to support their presence in the urban landscape. She also recognizes that despite the particular monuments or statues on display, these sites are embedded with a collective memory that has grown over the years, and will not simply disappear once those statues are gone. The sites still need to be recontextualized in some way post-removal in order to aid in the unification of the city. Sawyer said:

> "There was a meeting in June and we had maybe eight or nine kids from Grad Academy. And one of them said, 'All my life I've passed that statue and thought that it must be somebody important…No, its doesn't

[241] Davis, Chris, "A Q & A with Take 'em Down 901 Activist Tami Sawyer," *Memphis Flyer*, Sept. 7, 2017, Accessed online.

> oppress you everyday. It's not a thing everyday. But anytime it comes into your awareness it's like that's awful…I don't care (what happens to the monuments) as long as they no longer stand in the city of Memphis. What I am interested in, is what we do with that space afterwards to unite Memphians."[242]

And when asked about potential solutions she had this to say: "I think public art is good. I think having either a contest or a bid process for people to submit proposals about unifying art…What does not represent our city in a way that uplifts a majority of Memphians is Nathan Bedford Forrest. Or Jefferson Davis either. And these aren't hidden Parks. These are on major thoroughfares. Their placement is strategic."[243] Sawyer seems to echo possible discussions that the original creators of these sites might have had regarding their calculated decisions about where to place these monuments—the more central and visible the sites, the greater their power over the community.

To go back to the historical chain of events at the site, just over a year after the Tennessee Historical Commission denied the City Council a waiver on the Tennessee Heritage Protest Act, the City Council took the issue upon themselves. On Tuesday, December 19, 2017, the council voted on and approved an ordinance, representing the will of the community, calling the Confederate statues in the city a "public nuisance" (recalling the same language as was used in New Orleans), violating "African-Americans' right to enjoy the parks and reaffirm(ing) the city's commitment to remove the statues by any legal option."[244] The ordinance, which added all council members as sponsors, cited the city's history with segregated public parks, resulting in a 1960 lawsuit that states the statues were "erected during the Jim Crow era and were dedicated when the parks in which they were erected could not be

[242] Davis, "A Q & A with Take 'em Down 901 Activist Tami Sawyer."
[243] Ibid.
[244] Royer, "Memphis City Council Votes."

used by African Americans."[245] Additionally it said that the "recent public protest and potential for violence has 'interfered with the public's use and enjoyment of public places.'"[246]

This case study is very much indicative of how legal apparatus guide or dictate the interventions at these types of controversial sites, and in Baltimore both sides of the Forrest controversy took advantage of the law. The following day, Wednesday, December 20, 2017, at last those in support of monument removal had their moment of formal legal rebuttal to the events that had already taken place, following at least of year of careful and calculated planning to ensure the legality of their actions. In a premeditated move that very consciously and creatively took advantage of the law, but also worked within the law, the city voted to sell both Forrest Park as well as Memphis Park (where the Davis Monument stood), allowing for the immediate removal of both the Forrest and Davis Monuments. The parks were sold to the private nonprofit Memphis Greenspace, for $1,000 each. Led by attorney and Shelby County commissioner Van D. Turner, the nonprofit was created with the express purpose of buying the parks, thus revoking the parks' public land status, enabling the monuments' removal; additionally it was formed to serve "as an independent, nonprofit that provides park-based recreation within the City of Memphis to start, strengthen and support neighborhood and community involvement."[247] Even Greenspace's name suggests inclusion for all Memphians, through its absence of proper names, historic or contemporary. Greenspace filed for its incorporation in October 2017. It should be noted that this all followed the passing of a law on the part of the City Council in September, which would allow the city to sell the parks for less than their market value.

Within an hour of the City Council vote, police officers and cranes were deployed to Health Sciences Park. At 9:01pm (symbolically referencing the city's area code), Forrest was lifted by crane off

[245] Royer, "Memphis City Council Votes."
[246] Ibid.
[247] MLK50 Memphis, Justice Through Journalism, "The Confederacy Falls in Memphis."

of his pedestal; by about 10:45pm, Davis had been removed as well. The Forrest graves were not disturbed. The pedestal was also untouched, but Turner said it would eventually need to be dealt with. "Scores" of onlookers came to witness this historic event, including "residents of all persuasions—African-Americans, Asian-Americans, whites, Middle-Easterners…many onlookers walked up to #TakeEmDown901 creator Tami Sawyer to meet her and thank her. She cried quite a bit. Several Memphis police officers could be spied with smiles on their faces; there seemed to be a feeling of relief in the air."[248] Elected officials who were present at the Forrest Monument's removal were Shelby County Commissioners Walter F. Bailey Jr. and Reginald Milton, State Rep. Raumesh Akbari, and City Council Chairman Berlin Boyd. The crowd chanted "the people will never be defeated."[249]

Sawyer, when interviewed, said "Just to get to this moment is overwhelming…I looked Nathan Bedford in the eyes and shed a tear for my ancestors."[250] In a text she also wrote, "The role of organizers and activists in making change in Memphis should never be diminished…we have brought together thousands of Memphians to push for removal of these Confederate statues from public property in order to make Memphis a bit more equitable. We've withstood hate, physical threats, arrest and more to stand for the fact that these symbols of hate should no longer stand in a venerated state...the will of the people pushed the city to find a way."[251]

#TakeEmDown901 was now #TookEmDown901, which alludes to the significance of the use of social media and its power to wage an asymmetrical battle in the context of this and other similar controversies. In their article on the Occupy Wall Street movement, Jonathan Massey and Brett Snyder discuss the social media phenomenon as it related to that movement, explaining that in the use of a

[248] MLK50 Memphis, Justice Through Journalism, "The Confederacy Falls in Memphis."
[249] Poe, Ryan, "Memphis Removes 2 Confederate Statues From Downtown Parks; State Lawmakers Cry Foul," *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, Dec. 21, 2017, Accessed online.
[250] Connolly, Daniel and Vivian Wang, "Confederate Statues in Memphis are Removed After City Council Vote," *The New York Times*, Dec. 20, 2017, Accessed online.
[251] MLK50 Memphis, Justice Through Journalism, "The Confederacy Falls in Memphis."

social media hashtag, the movement was not only given a formal name, but "enabled the spontaneous assembly of strangers on Twitter and other internet platforms."[252] As a grassroots movement, social media can help to empower an otherwise powerless group, namely those stakeholders in a discourse who do not happen to have any formal decision-making power, to heighten and broadcast their voices and positions to a greater number of people within not only the immediate community, but to those further afield as well. This potential initiative changes the discourse from a standard top-down ordeal into one in which those with the state-mandated power begin to become accountable to the rest of the population. It also allowed for people who were not physically present but who supported the anti-monument campaign to rally together to form a more powerful whole. In ways that are not yet even fully understood, "Online tools are rapidly changing the dynamics of political action…(and) media are accelerating the pace of discourse and action,"[253] distinctly altering the way publicly-organized communities are operating in today's political sphere.

The monuments' removal also meant that they were eliminated from their prominent public sites in time for the anniversary of King's assassination in April. Not only would these symbols and relics of the Confederacy be absent during the anniversary events, but that absence would help to prevent what Rep. Steve Cohen, Democrat of Tennessee, called an "incendiary type of environment," like was seen in Charlottesville and again potentially in Baltimore.[254]

The immediate social media response to the removal of the monuments was mixed, with many thrilled with the events, and some decrying the situation, and many already speculating there would surely be lawsuits brought against the city. James Patterson, commander of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, Tennessee division, wrote on Facebook: "They are willfully violating the Heritage Preservation

[252] Massey, Jonathan and Brett Snyder, "Occupying Wall Street: Places and Spaces of Political Action," *Places Journal*, Sept. 2012, Accessed online.
[253] Ibid.
[254] Connolly and Wang, "Confederate Statues in Memphis."

act; the City has broken state law."[255] And House Majority Leader Glen Casada and Caucus Chairman Ryan Williams said in a statement, "The Tennessee Historical Commission has already voted to deny the city's application to remove these statues and this decision in Shelby County, at a minimum, completely violates both the spirit and intent of state law in protecting Tennessee history."[256] Millar, the Sons of Confederate Veterans spokesman, stated that "the removal of Forrest's memorial was a desecration of a grave under Tennessee law because the statue was within 10 feet and attached to the Forrest's grave."[257] The ambiguity of the Forrest graves might provide monument supporters with a loophole.

On December 22, two days after the removal, Greenspace signed a contract with Mayor Strickland requiring the nonprofit to continue operating Health Sciences Park as a park. Turner told the Associated Press that Greenspace wasn't formed just to remove the statues, but that he envisioned "more Memphis-area parks being transferred to the group so it can raise money to revitalize them. In the meantime…the organization will use the donations it has received to run the two parks it bought."[258] At that time, the group had already received pledges and donations totaling $250,000.

By the new year, 2018, Greenspace claimed it had received offers to take the statues, and Turner was firm in stating that the graves of Forrest and his wife were not disturbed in the statue removal. However, as *The Memphis Daily News* pointed out in January, "The distinction between what is the Forrest monument and what is the gravesite could be part of a legal challenge on the council's decision to sell the parks and the removal of the monuments. The city's position is that the statue and its base are not part of the gravesite."[259] Understanding that the Forrest graves were ambiguous, and

[255] Mattise, Jonathan, "Confederate Statues Removed After Memphis Sells Public Parks," *Associated Press*, Dec. 21, 2017, Accessed online.
[256] Ibid.
[257] Poe, "Memphis Removes 2 Confederate Statues."
[258] Mattise, "Confederate Statues Removed."
[259] Dries, Bill, "Greenspace Nonprofit Details Offers for Confederate Monuments," *The Daily News, Memphis*, Jan. 19, 2018, Accessed online.

therefore a potential liability, the City of Memphis had been careful to disassociate these parts of the monument from the whole.

Just a few months later, in April 2017, the Tennessee House approved a last-minute budget amendment to remove $250,000 from the City of Memphis' intended allocations for its 200th anniversary celebration in honor the city's founding. This was punishment for having removed their contentious monuments, in a 56-31 vote. The "seed money" coming from the state would have been matched by both the city and county. The Rep. Steve McDaniel sponsored the amendment. And the Sons of Confederate Veterans filed two separate lawsuits against Memphis Greenspace in response to their having removed the statues.

In continued legal action, the Sons of Confederate Veterans filed a lawsuit against the City of Memphis and Greenspace, but on May 16, 2018, Nashville chancellor Ellen Hobbs Lyle, in Davidson County Chancery Court, ruled that the 2016 law prohibiting Confederate monuments from being removed could not retroactively apply to either Memphis' Forrest or Davis statues. She dismissed the lawsuit, but put a stay on the judgement to allow the Sons of Confederate Veterans to appeal. In her ruling Lyle stated, "In the 2016 Act which applies to this case there was no prohibition of a sale. The 2018 Amendment expands the Act and provides that no memorial may be sold. The December 2017 sale to the private nonprofit group Greenspace converted the location of the Statues from public to private property. That conveyance was legal and valid under the Tennessee Code Annotated Section 12-2-302(1)…which authorizes municipalities to sell properties to nonprofits."[260] In other words, the Sons of Confederate Veterans based their suit on the 2018 amendment, but as the sale of the parks was done in 2017, there was no denying the legality of what had been done.

[260] Dries, "Chancery Court Rules Sale and Removal."

Also in May 2018, *The Memphis Flyer* reported that Greenspace planned to sell the Forrest and Davis monuments. Potential buyers had to be nonprofit organizations who would agree to maintain the statues and display them in public somewhere outside of Shelby County, Tennessee. In June, *The Memphis Daily News* revealed that Greenspace had received numerous offers to take the Forrest and Davis statues, including from Tennessee legislators, sites associated with the American Civil War, the Jefferson Davis Presidential Library and Museum, and the City of Savannah, Georgia. As of today, despite these offers, the statues remain with Greenspace.

In a foil to the Forrest monument, on July 28, 2018, Greenspace had the pedestal of the Davis Monument removed in order to begin its plan of reactivating and reinventing the park spaces where the Confederate had stood, essentially starting with a blank slate. This strategy is noteworthy as it essentially erases the physical traces of what once was there, potentially erasing that site's heritage as well. It is yet to be seen if this type of intervention will allow for the past to inform the future, in terms of educating current and later generations, or if through the absence of all physical traces, the memory of the site can or should be let go of completely. What does it mean to have an empty site? Turner said Greenspace was expediting their efforts to relocate the remaining physical vestiges of the Davis Monument, such as the pedestal, etc., "because we feel the dramatic increase of positive energy flowing up and down Riverside, and we want to continue to be a part of its success…There are many incredibly forward-thinking organizations in Memphis that all share the vision of a diverse, inclusive future for Downtown public space…To create that future, we need to say goodbye to the past."[261] Although Turner did not specify what exactly he meant about saying goodbye to the past, it could point to two options: first it could refer to attempting to erase the site of its history and cultural memory altogether,

[261] Sells, Toby, "Memphis Greenspace Clears Out Rest of Confederate Memorabilia from Memphis Park," *Memphis Flyer*, July 28, 2018, Accessed online.

or it could refer to changing the narrative being promoted at the site from what it once was to something more representative of the Baltimore community today.

Today the site where Davis once stood is an empty concrete slab, and the park has been rebranded as a democratic open public park space. There has been an increase in visitation. Penelope Huston, vice president for marketing at the Downtown Memphis Commission (DMC) noted that "All this is bringing in thousands of people who haven't experienced that (Memphis) park before who are now coming into Downtown and engaging with the parks…Because people have been out of those places for a while, they have to be trained to come back in."[262] This is evidence of the potential for these sites to become activated via community participation and work being done to actively introduce programing onto the sites. Citizens and community members have also had the opportunity to suggest potential plans or implementations at the sites via the Greenspace website.

Meanwhile, the pedestal and the gravesite at the Forrest Monument remains in place while the lawsuits continue. In addition to the still remaining pedestal, there is a "cyclone fence" that encloses the pedestal, and the site is "punctuated with traffic cones."[263] Even though, as Turner notes, Greenspace is starting with a clean slate at Memphis Park, is any slate actually clean? As Paul Farber, Artistic Director and Co-Founder of Monument Lab, so astutely asks, "Can the site of a former confederate monument and park become neutral ground?"[264] The truth is that these sites can never be fully erased of their meaning and history; although the narratives actively being promoted there might change over time, these places will always contain traces of their pasts. Things here have moved more slowly than at Memphis Park despite efforts to introduce public programming here as well. As Huston

[262] Smith, Maya, "Greenspace Looks to Recreate Parks Formerly Home to Confederate Statues," *Memphis Flyer*, Aug. 7, 2018, Accessed online.
[263] Farber, Paul M., "From Memphis Park, a History of Struggle Remains Unwritten," *Monument Lab*, Feb. 17, 2017, Accessed online.
[264] Ibid.

noted, "We haven't given up though."[265] This reaction to Health Sciences Park, however, is potentially the result of the fact that the Forrest Monument pedestal has not yet been removed, and that Forrest and his wife are presumably still buried there. Just because the statue of Forrest was removed from the site, that has not erased the power structure embedded there, represented by physical traces that visitors can still see, touch, and interact with.

In other recent news, which suggests that power of grass roots action, Sawyer won the general election to become Shelby County Board of Commissioner for District 7, on August 2, 2018, having run as a Democrat, taking over 80% of the vote over her Republican opponent. She successfully parlayed her leadership of a grassroots movement that witnessed the fruits of its labor in the removal of the statues, to gaining a consequential role within the city government. This is evidence of the the influence Sawyer, as a representative of a community-oriented organization, had on the citizens of Memphis; they were impressed enough with her to vote her into public office. In early March 2019, Sawyer also had announced she would be running for mayor.

By the end of 2018, the Sons of Confederate Veterans were still pursuing an agenda to get the statues put back up. Millar said that they haven't thought about any alternatives "because our whole focus is putting the statues back."[266] The Sons of Confederate Veterans could still appeal the decision of the Davidson County Chancery Court. In December, it was the descendants of Forrest who next took action, suing the City of Memphis, demanding the return of Forrest's statue. They not only want the city to pay for its return to a location of their choosing, but also the return of "all pedestal, base, burial vault, copper caskets, and the early remains of General Nathan Bedford Forrest and his wife Mary Ann Montgomery Forrest," and compensation for the "embarrassment, humiliation, and mental anguish

[265] Smith, "Greenspace Looks to Recreate Parks."
[266] Munks, Jamie, "Memphis Among Cities Where Future of Confederate Statues Remains Unclear," *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, Dec. 12, 2018, Accessed online.

caused by the defendants."[267] Curiously, this reveals an issue that has been little discussed, and for which I have had trouble finding evidence: where exactly are the Forrests' remains, especially if they aren't still on the site?

Today the Memphis Heritage website notes regarding the Forrest Park Historic District (Health Sciences Park) that it is "Endangered by loss of contextual features and may eventually be deslisted"[268] from the National Register, throwing into question how effective that preservation tool really is. Meanwhile the city, Greenspace, and other outside parties remain embroiled in lawsuits.

[267] Watts, Micaela, "Nathan Bedford Forrest Descendants Sue Memphis, Demand Return of Equestrian Statue," *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, Dec. 18, 2018, Accessed online.
[268] "Forrest Park Historic District (Health Sciences Park)," *Memphis Heritage*, http://www.memphisheritage.org/forrest-park-historic-district-health-sciences-park/.

CHAPTER SIX

Confederate Monument, at the intersection of North Main Avenue and East Capitol Street, Demopolis, Alabama

Chapter Six analyzes the Confederate Monument at the intersection of North Main Avenue and East Capitol Street in Demopolis, Alabama. This case is unique because of the manner in which this city's monument was taken down: it was accidental. The process in Demopolis has already led to a replacement on site for its fallen statue, but the case study illustrates the fact that sometimes tough questions need to be asked of a community in order to trigger progress. This case study is also an example of what a democratically-driven process, with both top-down and public participation, might look like in terms of finally getting to a resolution.

In the center of the intersection at North Main Avenue and East Capitol Street, in the median on North Main Avenue, just northwest of Confederate Park in Demopolis, Alabama, stands one of the city's two Confederate monuments, otherwise known as the Confederate Monument. Erected and dedicated in 1910 by the Marengo Rifles Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, the figure of a solider stood atop the monument until July 16, 2016, at 3:30am, when the figure was knocked to the ground, the monument having been run into by an on-duty police car. The statue, which had broken in many pieces, was moved immediately into storage. As opposed to the other previous case studies that have been discussed thus far, the Confederate Monument in Demopolis is unique because the Confederate statue here was accidentally removed, hosting a whole new set of questions regarding how its site post-removal should be treated.

Demopolis is relatively small in comparison to other cities in the United States, but it is the largest city in Marengo County, in southwest Alabama, with a population of 7,486, as per the 2010 U.S. Census. During the Civil War, most residents were pro-secession and sided with the Confederate cause. Yet the city never hosted any Civil War battles of its own. In 1868 during Reconstruction after the war, the state made the decision to move the county seat from Linden to Demopolis.

In that same 2010 census, it was determined that the racial population of the city was broken down with 50.1% of residents who were black or African American, 47.3% white, 2.4% Hispanic or other Latino, 0.5% Asian or Pacific Islander, 0.1% Native American, and the rest from other or multiples races. The median income for a household was $35,583, and $49,973 for a family. 26.8% of the population was below the poverty line.

The Demopolis Confederate Monument was one of a series of generic and anonymous mass-produced monuments that were popular during the Lost Cause period of post-Reconstruction Confederate memorialization, a time that saw the erection of the other monuments as well. This statue in particular honors "Our Confederate Dead," as it is inscribed on the monument's base, essentially drawing the focus of the memorialization away from the specific associations or deeds of the anonymous soldier to his valor in having lost his life fighting for a cause. This monument refashions military defeat as moral victory, this young man's life given to the vindication of the Lost Cause.

The statue that stood atop the base for over a century was a full-length, bearded Confederate soldier wearing a military uniform, head turned to the left, weight on the right leg, a blanket roll draped over his left shoulder. The figure held a rifle and wore a hat. Additionally, the monument's base contains the sculptural relief of a crossed rifle, sword, and flag. On the site flanking the monument are two small cannons and the space has been landscaped with greenery and shrubs. The monument's dedication in October 1910 was attended by sixty Confederate veterans and thousands of visitors, the

statue draped with the colors of the Confederate flag, the crowd singing "Dixie." A local newspaper reported there was an "excellent barbecued dinner" and that "This monument…will stand as a reminder to every old soldier who passes that his comrades of the dark days are still remembered."[269] Today the statue is registered with the Smithsonian Institute.

The location of this Confederate Monument is a highly central site within the city, which, while technically not within the formal boundaries of the adjacent Confederate Park, can still be read as associated with it. The Confederate Monument fills the intersection just to the northwest of the park., but its adjacency is significant—residents and passersby would likely not make the distinction between the two, lumping both the monument and the public square together as one singular location in the center of town. On October 29, 1975, Confederate Park was included on the National Register of Historic Places, although the monument itself was not included in this listing. The nomination form however notes that this public park, or town square, technically not including the Confederate Monument, is historically significant to the city "because from the earliest years of the town, this square has been a central meeting place for its people, for business, preaching or politics; and while, because of river traffic, the very earliest business houses were on the right banks, the public square has now grown to be the center of the present day business area in Demopolis."[270] The nomination also reveals that this town square was not named "Confederate Park" until 1932, at the request of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, and the marker containing this name of the park was not placed until 1962. Today it is simply known as "Public Square."

In 1979, the Demopolis Historic District was also added to the National Register of Historic Places. Confederate Park formed its northwest border, so again, the Confederate Monument was

[269] Montgomery, David, "After the Fall: When a Crash Toppled a Confederate Statue, a Southern Town—Half Black, Half White—Collided With its Past," *Washington Post*, July 20, 2017, Accessed online.
[270] "Public Square/Confederate Park, Demopolis, Alabama" National Register of Historic Places, Registration form, October 29, 1975.

technically not included. But in 2013, the Demopolis Historic District underwent an "Update and Boundary Increase," which included the Confederate Monument (#223) among its 494 inventoried resources.[271] The monument counts among its "contributing resources."

These were the conditions under which the Confederate Monument stood on its site when a Demopolis Police Officer crashed his Dodge Charger into the monument on July 16, 2016, at 3:30am, hitting the monument at 25 to 30 miles per hour, having fallen asleep at the wheel. This also happened to be just about a year after the tragic murders in Charleston. The country was in a sensitive and heightened state, which likely caused a different type of reaction to the incident in Demopolis, had it not occurred in the wake of such a racially charged and catastrophic event. The crash caused by the police officer who had lost control of his vehicle caused extensive damage to the monument and totaled the police cruiser. The statue itself fell over, breaking off at the soldier's shins, landing in the landscaping of shrubs and flowers surrounding the monument. The boots remained atop the pedestal.

The officer, whose name, or race, was not released, was taken to the Bryan Whitfield Memorial Hospital following the crash, where he was given a drug test. He was not injured. A formal investigation ensued, during which time the officer was put on administrative leave. Police Chief Tommie J. Reese Sr. responded to the scene immediately, and then Mayor Mike Grayson arrived as well, "praying the act wasn't intentional. According to family lore, his grandmother, as treasurer for the Marengo Rifles Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, wrote the check to pay for the monument. 'The last thing I wanted to happen was Demopolis to become a battleground between the Sons (of Confederate Veterans) and the Daughters of the Confederacy and the Black Lives Movement.'"[272]

[271] "Demopolis Historic District: Update and Boundary Increase," National Register of Historic Places, Registration form, Dec. 23, 2013.
[272] Montgomery, "After the Fall."

With these words, Mayor Grayson suggests that he believed this situation was in some way related to conversations that were happening at the national level, and in other cities, namely the Confederate monument controversy. Recognizing his own city could become a "battleground," and without knowing all of the facts of the case, Grayson appears to have assumed that this incident was tied into this greater discourse. The problem with this, of course, is that he didn't know what had motivated or caused the toppling of the statue, and yet he was mentally preparing for something far more complicated than a police officer who had fallen asleep at the wheel. Interestingly Grayson's identification of these three particular groups does a good job summarizing the opposing viewpoints of the parties involved in the monument discourse. On the one hand are Confederate-leaning private interests, and on the other, progressive activists, whose mission it is to "build local power and to intervene in violence on Black communities by the state and vigilantes."[273]

Whatever Mayor Grayson might have personally thought was going on, he soon called for a rally, via a Facebook announcement, at the monument on Monday, July 18, two days after the incident: "In light of the accident involving the confederate monument, I'm asking everyone who loves Demopolis to meet me at the monument Monday, July 18 at 5:30 p.m. The purpose of this meeting is for prayer, peace, understanding and unity in our community. No more no less. I would hope that we could get 1,000 people in the street for the purposes of good. This is a demonstration not so much to protest anything but to promote."[274] Interestingly, and as was pointed out on public forums online, if this was just an accident, then why the mayor's language about peace and understanding? Mayor Grayson appears to have been preempting a very different situation, one in which the crash was not an accident, but a deliberate act of the part of the police officer, which was surely a theory that many people were

[273] Black Lives Matter website, https://blacklivesmatter.com/about/.
[274] Ekberg, Olaf, "'Sleep' Blamed for Cop Car Ramming Confederate Monument," *The American Mirror*, July 19, 2016, Accessed online.

speculating. By wanting to host this rally, the mayor could also have been allowing for a situation in which citizens would come to actually protest the monument, rather than using this moment for unity and understanding. As it turned out, there were no protests seemingly at all during the entire post-accident period.

Nevertheless, there was a lot of speculation regarding what happened, especially online. By the morning after the accident, things were "spinning out of control," with a leading theory stating that "the officer was black and had been paid to take out the statue."[275] (In fact the officer was black, but no one officially knew this at the time.) An African American pastor said there was "jubilation on the African American side of town," while the "white side of town was conflicted. There was a faction that saw an opportunity to tell a new story about Demopolis, and another that wanted to dig in to defend an older vision."[276]

In response Police Chief Reese also released a statement stating, "This was an accident and nothing else," which, in their reporting, *The American Mirror* classified as a "rather peculiar" way to end the statement.[277] Reese also said, "I am glad the officer wasn't injured or killed because we can't replace a life, but a monument can be repaired or replaced."[278] Demopolis Public Works crews took the remains of statue down off the pedestal of the monument following the accident as well.

In light of Reese's update proclaiming the incident an "accident," Mayor Grayson cancelled his rally. But it also appears that his goal to gather the people of Demopolis together in prayer for the community was "misinterpreted and a few have distorted the purpose for their own agenda."[279] As was

[275] Montgomery, "After the Fall."
[276] Ibid.
[277] Ekberg, "'Sleep' Blamed."
[278] Taylor, Stephanie, "Demopolis Police Officer Crashes into Confederate Monument," *Tuscaloosa News*, July 17, 2016, Accessed online.
[279] Smith, Jeremy D., "Mayor Postpones Community Gathering in Wake of Statue Fallout," *The West Alabama Watchman*, July 18, 2016, Accessed online.

reported in *The West Alabama Watchman,* the news of the crash had "prompted a wide variety of social media reactions ranging from accusations of malicious intent on the part of the DPD (Demopolis Police Department) officer to concern over his well-being and even questions as to whether or not he was engaged in the widely popular Pokemon Go app while on patrol."[280] It seems that the mayor's initial statement about the gathering led many to believe he was suggesting that this was not an accident, but an incident inspired by hate or willful intent, especially in the wake of Charleston. But despite the gathering being called off, it did not stop the city from thus needing to address how to handle what to do with the site now that the monument had been damaged.

Over a week after the accident, Mayor Grayson told *The Demopolis Times* that city officials were considering options for the "future of the memorial," and "the statue is an iconic landmark in Demopolis that I've been told was erected in either 1910 or 1914. We will not abandon the site. We intend to restore a monument there. The conversation will center on how we want to do that. The only part of the statue beyond repair is the rifle, but the solider is mostly intact. Whatever decisions we come to will be made on a local basis and not by way of outside influences…It was an unfortunate accident and there is no reason to suggest it was anything other than an accident…At this time in our nation, with the events we've seen across the country, people are quick to jump to conclusions and say things. Demopolis has long been a community where we've all gotten along and we expect that to continue."[281] Per this language and in stressing that the incident was an accident, Grayson appears to be dissuading the citizens of Demopolis from reacting as though this were part of a larger chain of events caused by those of Dylann Roof in Charleston. The mayor, however, also appointed a committee to consider the city's options regarding what to do with the monument. He appointed six whites, and six blacks, made

[280] Smith, "Mayor Postpones Community Gathering."
[281] Blankenship, Robert, "Historic Landmark Damaged in Police Vehicle Accident," *The Demopolis Times*, July 26, 2016, Accessed online.

up of community civic and business leaders. But what the committee was doing specifically was not made clear. During this time, supporters of the statue assumed it would be fixed and reinstated on site, while others expected the committee would be working towards an alternative. However, by the end of 2016, nothing had formally been done except to have the ankles and feet of the solider removed from the pedestal. It should be noted as well that Grayson lost his mayoral reelection campaign that fall, to John Laney, the former manager of the local cement plant.

By January 25, 2017, the City Council of Demopolis was considering further what to do with the site, and ultimately held off on making a decision in a unanimous vote at their council meeting, some council members expressing they would like to hear further from the committee that Grayson had formed in 2016, as they had not yet given the council an official report or consensus. Strangely, while the matter of the committee was mentioned there was little to no information about it specifically, whether in terms of who the committee was made up of, or what exactly they were doing. All that was known was that it was a "committee of six whites and six blacks…civic leaders," but they "couldn't all get together at the same time and give us that recommendation personally in open meeting."[282] For some unknown reason the matter of the committee was being kept from the public.

Also at that meeting, which had been attended by over 40 members of the community, the new Mayor John Laney opened by expressly explaining that this was not a public hearing but rather an open council meeting so the community could hear the council going about its business. He went on to give an update on the situation stating again the crash was an accident and the statue was damaged, but that there was insurance on the statue worth $15,000 with a $5,000 deductible.

[282] Gwin, Stewart, "Demopolis City Council Addresses Damaged Monument," *West Alabama Watchman,* Jan. 20, 2017, Accessed online.

Council members expressed a range of opinions and feelings regarding the site, suggesting various interventions that ran the gamut from repairing and replacing the statue in its original form ("If it had not been hit it would still be there"), to erecting an obelisk or flag at the site ("Our history means a lot to the people of this town. Some of it's good and some is bad. We need to remember our history, but that doesn't mean we have to memorialize it in our downtown space").[283] In terms of racial breakdown, the council included "African American men (who) represent two districts that are predominantly black. White men represent two districts that are predominantly white. A white man represents an evenly split swing district. Mayor Laney, who is white, has the sixth vote."[284]

It was also at this meeting that Mayor Laney made a statement suggesting that Demopolis was not as integrated as its citizens might have thought. He said "One of the observations I made as I walked though the city is that we have two cities within Demopolis. We've got a city of 7,800 people, but it's essentially two cities of 3,900 because the demographic is such that we don't work together. We need to do things to change that, and I think that needs to be factored into the decision made by the council because we need to move forward economically."[285]

Laney's statement is interesting, because he frames the question of heritage as an economic problem. By claiming that Demopolis needed to move forward economically, and that in somehow the question over how the city dealt with its Confederate Monument issue would be responsible for that, gives more agency to the idea that heritage can have a more lasting effect on a community beyond simply acting as a preserver of history or collective memory. Heritage can in fact take responsibility for the well-being of a community in terms of the jobs it helps to produce or the number of tourists it might attract, perhaps not directly, but indirectly for sure.

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[283] Blankenship, Robert, "Demopolis Council Holds Off on Statue Vote," *The Demopolis Times*, Jan. 25, 2017, Accessed online.
[284] Montgomery, "After the Fall."
[285] Gwin, "Demopolis City Council Addresses Damaged Monument."

The Marengo County Historical Society (MCHS), whose mission it is to "gather, collect, preserve, study, and publicize both the fact and artifacts" of county and surround areas, weighed in on the situation as well. Councilman Harris Nelson brought up the fact that the MCHS recommended placing an obelisk on the site as well, representing the expert opinion of a group dedicated to local preservation efforts. As Nelson stated, "We have a private historical society and a civic group recommending the same thing. That statue means a lot to a lot of people in this town, some good, some bad, and this town's motto is 'City of the People' and that statue represents a time when not everybody in this room was considered a person. That's a sad part of history, but it's part of our history. We need to understand it, know it, but that doesn't mean we have to memorialize it in our downtown square."[286]

When the MCHS had originally met to discuss the monument Mayor Laney had been president of the board, and Laney also explained that the board was made up of a cross-section of the local community. He added, "They (MCHS) saw the need to do something different. The Preservation Commission recommended that something different be done. I've talked with people on both sides, and there's a certain segment of our population that they don't say anything, but they endure. And I think it's time we do things so that they recognize that we are together as one city and they're not having to endure, that they feel part of our city."[287] He also brought up the concept of "logic" in terms of replacing the statue. Since it was an accident that brought it down, logic would dictate that it be replaced.

Of course, not doing anything at all to the site was a potential option as well, leaving the pedestal as it was, and not replacing the fallen Confederate soldier.

[286] Gwin, "Demopolis City Council Addresses Damaged Monument."
[287] Ibid.

The City of Demopolis has an image of itself as being different from other places in the country, and especially sees itself as distinct from other cities in the South, but really how different is it? Yes, the city is a relatively calm and peaceful place, and although there is little mixing between the races in terms of where people live or who people socialize with, there is an amicable and peaceful status quo that has been upheld there for many years. As David Montgomery noted in his feature-length piece on the monument's controversy in *The Washington Post*, published later that year in July 2017, despite most black and white residents living on opposite sides of town, the city distinguished itself as different. He wrote,

> "Demopolis was founded 200 years ago by fugitive French comrades of the exiled Napoleon, and it was named for a democratic ideal. Residents take pride in the fact that, during school segregation in the middle of the 20th century, Demopolis distinguished itself from many of its Black Belt neighbors. Black children and white children were funneled into the same schools, and the habit took. True, an all-white private academy cropped up, but it didn't last, unlike in town where private schools still drain the public schools of white children. Today, Demopolis High School's student body is roughly as balanced as the population of the town. Progress in Demopolis has been complicated, though. As recently as 2003, students at the high school attended separate proms…Yet current students can't imagine such a practice…That same spirit that integrated schools carried into other aspects of civic life...Not only is the police chief African American, so are his two predecessors, and the force is racially balanced. The fire chief and the building inspector are black. The first elected African American district attorney in Alabama history, in 1992, was a lawyer in Demopolis."[288]

The Confederate Monument incident began to reveal the cracks in this status quo, however, because it forced the issue over the monument's meaning into the foreground, allowing all citizens to

[288] Montgomery, "After the Fall."

speak to what it meant to them individually. This was revelatory for many residents, who expressed that they weren't even aware of how the other side felt.

It came as a shock to many residents to hear what others actually felt about the monument and plans for the redevelopment of the site. The operations director of the MCHS, Kirk Booker, told Montgomery, "It's been a little eye-opening. I find out from African American friends that they always saw that as a symbol of hate…I grew up three blocks from that statue, and it never represented that to me. To be perfectly honest, I drive by that every day, and I never thought about it."[289] Some white residents "could not understand why, if the statue was such an outrage, black residents had been relatively silent about it" ("There was never a problem until somebody ran it over. If you had hard feelings on it, why didn't you bring it up before somebody ran over it?").[290] But this is exactly why conversations over these sites need to be opened up to the public, and in fact sponsored by those at the top, i.e. city governments, so that there is a safe and open platform for citizens to speak their minds, and air their grievances. Despite the fact that the city was living in relative peace did not mean that the Confederate Monument site was not laden with deeper meaning, in many cases unsettling, disturbing, and offensive meaning. It may have been easier, or safer, for black residents to let the issue stay quiet, than risk the potential negative consequences of speaking up. And for white residents, it would have been easy to translate that silence into complicity or agreement. All of this evidence points to the fact that this issue was one that was likely simmering beneath the public surface for a long time. The Confederate Monument did not sit well with many in the community, but otherwise race relations appeared to be stable and positive. The city, despite its self-image, was still not a community where blacks felt comfortable speaking up.

[289] Montgomery, "After the Fall."
[290] Ibid.

Demopolis' monument also suffered from not necessarily even being a conscious or active part of most people's mental map of the city. Although the people of Demopolis might have passed the site every day, until the accident it wasn't the active symbol that it eventually turned into. Montgomery also interviewed the former civil rights activist Annye Braxton for his *Washington Post* piece, in which Braxton has her hair done by Reginald Gracie at Reggie's Salon & Boutique. Gracie is quoted as saying, because the statue had always been there, "when I see it, I don't see it. It wasn't like it was an issue. Then an accident occurs and you start to hear all this stuff about somebody wanted to destroy their 'history.' It changes because then you find out the spirit that flows through the monument is still flowing through these people today. All these years you say this should be a model city as far as race relations are concerned, but you want to erect the one thing that keeps us divided?"[291] That spirit that flows though the monument that Gracie is referring to is the residual spirit of the Lost Cause, which still lives on through this site today. Whether this is a conscious thing, and whether or not that spirit goes for the formal name of the "Lost Cause" or not, what Gracie mean is that the historical legacy of this site remains with the white residents, whether that has been publicly broadcast or not. It was the accident done to the monument that has acted as a trigger for these feelings and emotions that have now come bubbling to the surface.

Braxton herself told Montgomery how the statue had been "a sideshow compared to the negative connotations she associated with the park adjacent to the monument…Until the mid-1960s, black children could not play on the merry-go-round, and black adults rarely ventured there unless they were taking care of white children."[292] So even if the Confederate Monument itself was not consciously thought of as overtly "Confederate" or discriminatory, there were definitely connotations about the site

[291] Montgomery, "After the Fall."
[292] Ibid.

and the adjoining Confederate Park and what this space represented. That blacks wouldn't even go there shows just how contentious this site had been, and for how long.

To get back to the January 2017 City Council meeting, despite the fact that it wasn't a public hearing, members of the community were given the opportunity to weigh in publicly as well, thereby expressing some of this range in opinion. The comments made by local residents, like those of the council members, were extremely varied. Here is some of the testimony, which was reported in which was reported in *The Demopolis Times* on January 25, 2017:

- "I moved here in 1965. That monument has been in my life for over 40 years…I used to play on it as a child. I know everyone wants to do the right thing. We are a city made up of many different people. If we start erasing history, where do we stop? It should also be noted that the solider was created at parade rest and was facing south. It is not a combative statue, but rather a symbol that this solider wanted to return home." –Phillip Spence
- "I graduated from Demopolis in 2003 and at that time we were still having separate proms. It was not OK. We're the only town around with a fully integrated public school, but we are constantly held back by race. We are the City of the People and that should include all the people." –Morgan Nelson
- "I moved here in 2009 and love it here…Everything I do I want to do for the betterment of Demopolis. I want it to be a place where we can all live in peace. Let's do something to bring us together." –Jackson Moore
- "I don't find the statue offensive. Perhaps we could make a monument honoring civil rights. I think that would bring us together…tearing down (the confederate) statue will not." –Broughton Rogers
- "Demopolis has so much to offer through its history. The Civil War is still of great interest to people. Tourism is a $2 billion industry in our state and much of that has to do with the Civil War. Let us showcase all of our history. Nobody is going to get a job or a raise based on whether

or not the statue is here." –Pat Goodwin, of the United Daughters of the Confederacy Chapter 53 Selma

Philip Spence, the Demopolis resident who had lived in the city since 1965, would prove to be one of the statue's biggest supporters, showing up at all of the City Council meetings to publicly express his opinion. He argued the monument's historical value was significant for many different people. Spence is also a member of the group "Friends of the Old Soldier," whose rallying cry "Save Our Solder," was printed on t-shirts, quoting Proverbs 22:28: "Remove not the ancient landmark, which thy fathers have set,"[293] thereby using religion to condone racism. Through the use of this religious scripture to support the purposes of those who wished to see the reintroduction of the Confederate solider back onto the site suggests that this group is staking a claim on that religion—that somehow through "God" their side is the right side of the argument.

Yet despite the differences in opinion regarding the various strategies for dealing with this site, it has been noted how civil and respectful all of the proceedings were. Both sides delivered what they had to say in tones of mutual respect, which despite the range of opinion, did reflect upon Demopolis' self-identification at this time.

By the City Council meeting in February, the council had given the monument committee until April to come back with their findings and a recommendation. Community member Spence challenged the construction of that committee and asked how it had been appointed. The list of names on the committee had still not been made public. However, Mayor Laney explained he had removed himself from the committee, although former Mayor Grayson still had a vote, and Charles Jones, a councilman, had been asked not to vote and to instead serve as a mediator. Spence suggested that Chief of Police

[293] Montgomery, "After the Fall."

Reese also recuse himself because the incident had been caused by one of his officers. The list of names still had not been released a month later in March.

Despite not knowing who the committee included, the fact of the matter is that the City of Demopolis still saw the importance of working with a committee in this way, and whether or not the City Council took the committee's research or findings, in addition to its final recommendation, to heart during its final vote regarding what to do with the site, they could say they had consulted with a body of invested individuals. However, unlike with other cities' more public committee processes, which made information, such as the committee members' identities, available to the community, Demopolis for some reason was keeping quiet in this regard. Councilman Jones, who was now acting as the committee's mediator, did concede, "This is a fair and impartial group…After going through all the processes, they will make a recommendation. At the end of the day that's all it is—a recommendation. The vote comes from here (the council)."[294] However, what makes up a fair and impartial group? The community was not given the right to judge this for themselves.

At the City Council meeting on April 12, 2017, more public opinions were heard from both sides, including those that wanted the statue reinstated, and those that wanted it to stay down. That same resident, Spencer, spoke again, this time suggesting that because the monument had been a gift of the Daughters of the Confederacy, the council should respect their efforts. Some publicly stated the statue was a glorification of slavery and the Confederacy. There was talk of a compromise—perhaps a Civil Rights monument could be introduced downtown, or the statue could be moved to another nearby location.

[294] Blankenship, Robert, "Residents Voice Concerns Over Confederate Statues," *The Demopolis Times*, March 10, 2017, Accessed online.

Although there was a committee, it did not work openly or candidly; they did not make themselves accessible to the public, and generally made it impossible for the residents of Demopolis to have any understanding or input regarding their work, despite repeated expressions from the community that it desired more transparency during this process. There is little evidence of the committee's process in term of coming to a consensus on the recommendation they would give to the City Council, which was eventually presented in the form of a letter prior to the council's vote on April 20. The committee suggested that the soldier be replaced with an obelisk to honor the dead in all wars. *The West Alabama Watchman* reported on April 20, 2017, that it was working to obtain a copy of the recommendation letter presented to the council and would update their story on the matter published that day accordingly, but no such update was made. There was also criticism directed at the City Council later on because the "committee appointed to discuss options following the statue being damaged did not hold public meetings. As a committee of the city council, that is a violation of the state's Open Meetings Act."[295]

On April 20, 2017, Mayor Laney publicly announced at a council meeting that the monument committee had made its recommendation, suggesting that the city carry on without its Confederate statue—but that it should be replaced with an obelisk inscribed to the memory of the dead in all wars, or "all fallen war dead."[296] The City Council voted 3-2 on the recommendation to go ahead with this plan. As Montgomery noted, "The two white council members from white districts voted against the proposal. The two black council members from black districts voted for the proposal. Harris Nelson, the

[295] Blankenship, Robert, "Demopolis Adjusts Jackson Street Bridge Repair Projects," *The Demopolis Times*, Jan. 11, 2018, Accessed online.
[296] Edgemon, Erin, "Confederate Solider Damaged in Crash Won't Return to Demopolis Monument," *AL.com, Montgomery*, April 21, 2017, Accessed online.

white swing district representative, also voted for the change. Mayor Laney abstained. By a vote of 3-2, the Confederate statue"[297] and its future had been determined.

This obelisk was predicted to cost $50,000 to construct. The original pedestal would remain, essentially using the physical remainders of the Confederate Monument and the site itself to honor soldiers from all wars beyond just the Civil War. The statue of the solider meanwhile would be repaired and preserved at the Marengo County Historical Archives Museum, along with a plaque "explaining how the solider ended up there rather than atop the pedestal downtown."[298]

Just about a month after the vote to move ahead with the obelisk plan, however, on May 26, 2017, the Governor of Alabama, Kay Ivey, signed into law a bill approving the Alabama Preservation Act of 2017, which bars the "removal, renaming, removal and alterations of monuments, memorial streets, memorial buildings an architecturally significant buildings located on public property for 40 or more years."[299] The law, which was directed at local governments, also created the Committee of Alabama Monument Protection, which would be responsible for "waivers for modifications to the monuments, memorial buildings and streets and architecturally significant buildings on public property between 20 and 40 years old."[300] The timing of the passing of the bill was too conspicuously on the tail of the passing of the Demopolis vote, and created two sides yet again. The governor's office was adamant that the goal of the law was "for all generations to learn not only from our heroes and our greatest achievements, but to also ensure that we learn from our mistakes and our darkest hours. When negative aspects of history are repeated, it is often done because we have scrubbed the effects of the

[297] Montgomery, "After the Fall."
[298] Gwin, Stewart, "Demopolis Council: Confederate Solider Will Not Return to Monument," *West Alabama Watchman,* April 20, 2017, Accessed online.
[299] Sterling, Joe, "A New Alabama Law Makes Sure Confederate Monument are Here to Stay," *CNN*, May 26, 2017, Accessed online.
[300] Ibid.

past from our memories. This legislation ensures that both the good and bad of our past are remembered so as to enlighten our future."[301]

But the opposing side argued this law was created hastily and for Confederate monuments, and in fact didn't take into consideration how it would affect communities that would want and/or need to make changes to roads or buildings for any other number of maintenance or safety reasons. In an editorial in *The Anniston Star* from about a year later, and in response to the law having affected some other cities in this latter regard, the board wrote, "How the state Legislature passed and Gov. Kay Ivey signed the Alabama Memorial Preservation Act of 2017 is an instruction manual in dysfunctional lawmaking. In their frenzy to protect monuments and memorials to the Confederacy, Montgomery's rulers created a law that prevents or strictly limits local governments from caring for aging streets, statues or buildings named for people…The act's passage was rushed…The act was created in panic."[302]

So while Demopolis had voted democratically to include an obelisk at the the Confederate Monument site, and the vote had been made in April, the Alabama Memorial Preservation Act's passing in May threw the whole decision into question. In June, the City Council asked their attorney to contact the state Attorney General to ensure their plan for the site could proceed, which also put their plans for action on hold until the decision had been made. Meanwhile, a citizen started an online petition at Change.org (the same site used by Tami Sawyer in Baltimore) for those in support for maintaining the memorial: "By signing this petition you are showing your support that the monument be repaired and the solider that once stood at the top be replaced to his rightful position where he has stood for the past 106 years."[303] The petition received 912 signatures.

[301] Sterling, "A New Alabama Law."
[302] The editorial board of *The Anniston Star*, "Editorial: Monument to Bad Lawmaking," *The Anniston Star*, April 18, 2018, Accessed online.
[303] "Repair The Demopolis, Alabama Confederate Memorial To Its Original Condition," *Change.org petition*, Accessed online.

On November 1, 2017, several months later, the Alabama Attorney General Steve Marshall actually came to visit Demopolis to speak to the Rotary Club, and was asked about the request of the City of Demopolis to give his opinion on the Confederate Monument site. Marshall replied that an "opinion had been written, but that it is currently in the review stage of the process."[304]

It was not until December 4, 2017, that the attorney general's decision was given to the city, which stated "The Alabama Preservation Act of 2017 does not render void a vote by the Demopolis City Council to alter the remains of a Confederate monument that ceased to exist before the effective date of the act. The city's monument that had been in place for more than 40 years was inadvertently destroyed when the statue was broken into pieces and removed from the site. Because the monument ceased to exist at the time of the effective date of the act, the act's prohibitions were not triggered. Accordingly, the city council's vote is not void and the city may proceed with its plans for the remains of the monument."[305] In other words, the efforts to rehabilitate the site could start up again. There had been an effort by some to use the law to restrict the future interventions on the site from including anything but the reinstatement of the statue that was there. However, as the attorney general concluded, this charge was invalid due to the timing of the initial vote. And yet, there was a possibility that what Demopolis could actually do with their publicly owned site would be taken from their control based on a law from the state.

Still the attorney general's decision would stand, and action could proceed. In July 2018, the City Council voted to award the repair work for the Confederate soldier statue to Doric South for $15,000, using a dowel method of repair (as opposed to glue). Since it was not going back to its original location on the pedestal, but instead to the Marengo County History and Archive Museum, the city

[304] Blankenship, Robert, "Attorney General Visits," *The Demopolis Times*, Nov. 1, 2017, Accessed online.
[305] Blankenship, Robert, "AG Opinion: City May Move Ahead on Statue Plans," *The Demopolis Times*, Dec. 4, 2017, Accessed online.

would have to pay entirely for it, rather than with its insurance. After resigning as Police Chief in November, Reese was appointed to serve as the new Law Enforcement Coordinator for the Alabama Attorney General's Office.

And on December 6, 2018, the new obelisk was erected atop the old pedestal at the Confederate Monument site, which was meant to commemorate the dead in all wars, including the Civil War, therefore creating a new monument, or palimpsest, out of both old, original pieces, as well as newly imagined and created ones. What was left behind from the original could therefore be thought of as having been recontextualized through the introduction of additional context. However, did this intervention really change the original spirit or intent of the original monument? By leaving the inscriptions on the original pedestal "To Our Confederate Dead" and "Erected by the Marengo Rifles Chapter—United Daughters of the Confederacy—1910," this intervention doesn't quite manage to disassociate itself with its past. Traces of the monument's Lost Cause life are not only embedded in the site via memory, but through physical objects as well. Yes, the newly reconstructed site is the product of a democratic public-engagement process, but how different is the site operating now with the obelisk as opposed to what might have been the repaired solider? Does that matter? Perhaps what is most important is that this decision was, to some degree, the result of a city-side consensus. In addition to honoring the dead in all wars, the obelisk is meant to honor all races as well. It's meant to be more holistic and inclusive, but it is still uncertain what the fallout will be in Demopolis.

Overall, however, there were no protests, no violence, etc., in Demopolis during the city's process in considering what to do with the contentious site, even though there were arguments over the statue's value in the city. But rather than voting to remove the entire monument from the site, the city ultimately decided to recontextualize the site and the history that the monument was a part of. So, while the monument "dilutes" its connection to the Civil War and the Confederacy, and though the proposal to introduce the obelisk earned the support of the city's black leaders, what is it achieving that

sets it apart from the old monument? Did these black leaders feel they had enough of a platform on which to express the desires of Demopolis' black community, or were they happy to vote on a compromise that would likely get passed by the City Council? What does success in this regard look like, and how can that even begun to be measured? As Montgomery noted, the new monument "makes no attempt to tell a larger story about the town's history, one that would include slavery. There was only so far Demopolis was prepared to go."[306]

Perhaps success in this case has more to do with the process by which Demopolis came to its decision, rather than what that decision turned out to be, which can, and is, being debated. Of course success would be defined by whomever it is that's being asked, but in an attempt to take lessons from this case study, I would argue that, as the vocal resident, Philip Spence, admitted, successes is "to agree to disagree agreeably." [307] To do so means that a democratic process has been followed. People have been asked for their input and to voice their opinion. And those people have been given an equal opportunity to be heard and taken seriously. The community is in this together. This is important, because even a dissenter can respect the decision made regarding what to do with the site despite his opposing feelings, because the process has allowed for it. (Although, there is also evidence to suggest that in Demopolis the process could have been more transparent.) Success, therefore, might best be judged by the quality of the process, rather than by the outcome.

It should be stressed that Demopolis was dealing with not whether or not to take their Confederate Monument down, but having to decide with whether or not to put it back up. As an act of chance, the police patrol car accident posed an entirely different question than the questions investigated in the other cities so far, because there was no opportunity for Demopolis and its community to consider the site in a post-removal form before they found themselves in that actual

[306] Montgomery, "After the Fall."
[307] Ibid.

situation. There was no decision made on the part of the City Council, whether informed by expert opinion or community input, or even more radical protests, to actually take the statue down. This scenario was delivered to them. This is a case of a city needing to deal with a contentious site post-removal, but without the potential benefit of pre-consideration. What Demopolis may have benefitted from is the fact that the accidental toppling of the Confederate Monument was a trigger that the city needed. Without the incident, there is evidence to suggest the debate would never have come out. If that police officer had not run into the monument, the statue would likely still be standing there, and at least would have likely delayed any conversations the city had to partake in regarding its future.

The case of Demopolis is also significant due to the fact that the event which took out their Confederate statue occurred one year after Charlottesville, but before any other major cities in the US made their high-profile and highly-publicized decisions to remove their own Confederate Monuments. In fact, this incident in Demopolis took place over one year before New Orleans made its decision to remove General Lee and its other three contentious monuments. Therefore, Demopolis had no US precedents to look to while in the midst of their crisis. They had no guidance or any other cities to follow or look to for advice, either in terms of what or what not to do, or how to even begin thinking about how to deal with this situation.[308] This case is also significant because a counter-monument has been erected.

But the "legal wrangling" that took place with the Alabama Preservation Act of 2017 was not unique, and as we have seen, has been used by other cities as well who face pressure via the law to desist their actions on these sites. William Cook, former associate counsel at the National Trust for Historic Preservation, said of the legal case in Demopolis, "This case captivates me because we've been talking about this need for public dialogue, for communities to be inclusive and collaborative."[309] Yet

[308] Shavin, "States are Using Preservation Laws."
[309] Ibid.

despite the city attempting to be inclusive (Cook made these comments in April 2018, before the attorney general's decision had been rendered), the law still potentially had a role to play.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Confederate Soldiers Monument, Old Durham County Courthouse, Durham, North Carolina

Chapter Seven evaluates the Confederate Soldiers Monument in front of the Old Durham County Courthouse in Durham, North Carolina. This case presents an anomaly in the way in which its statue came down: it was removed spontaneously and illegally by protesters. As a result, this case presents a process that was initiated because the city had no other choice but to consider how it would treat the monument's site. Despite the illegal misconduct of the protesters who destroyed public property, this case also suggests the need for those in power to listen to the voices of the entire community.

On May 10, 1924, Durham, North Carolina's Confederate Soldiers Monument was dedicated in front of the city's Old Durham County Courthouse, in honor of the soldiers from Durham County who fought for the Confederate cause in the Civil War. The monument stood there intact for over ninety years, until the figure atop was torn down by protesters on August 14, 2015. Standing approximately fifteen feet high, with a ten-foot pedestal, the monument was made by the McNeel Marble Company, in Marietta, Georgia, one of their mass-produced models, which happened to be very popular at the time.

Durham's Confederate Soldiers Monument consists of the figure of a young man, a soldier, uniformed and carrying a rifle at his feet. This figure was marketed as the "parade-rest solider." Thought to have been made of bronze, the figure of the soldier was in fact only sculpted sheet metal coated in bronze, which was made clear in the aftermath of his being torn down—he lay crumpled on

the ground, having easily been kicked and prodded, which warped the metal and proved he was not made of a more solid material. Until he was torn down, this soldier stood atop a granite pedestal which is adorned with the Confederate seal. There are two lighted lamps on either side of the base, as well as four stone "cannonballs" stacked into a pyramid in front of and at the foot of the pedestal. The inscriptions carved into the base include "In Memory of the Boys Who Wore Gray," "Dedicated May 10th, 1924," and "This Memorial Erected by the People of Durham County." The monument stood in a manicured grassy field outside the Old Durham County Courthouse at 200 East Main Street. On the same property are three other memorials, including the Durham County World War I, World War II, Korean and Vietnam Wars Monuments.

The impetus to erect a Confederate monument in Durham was led by the R.W. Webb Camp of the United Confederate Veterans and the Julian S. Carr Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, both of whom sponsored the project. As the sponsors, rather than raise money through fundraisers and local support, which was typically how these monuments would be funded, these groups appealed to the state legislature for $5,000 to be put towards the project, a sum which would be raised through taxation. That tax would raise by one half of one percent all money "raised by taxation from all sources" for a one-year period.[310] Thus, the project wound up being entirely paid for by public funds.

In addition to the formal sponsors of the monument, another figure remains historically and disturbingly linked to the Durham Confederate Soldiers Monument. In a story well-told in the lore surrounding this monument, Julian Carr, for whom the Carr Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy was named, tried to play a larger role in this monument's erection, acting as commissioner

[310] "Confederate Soldiers Monument, Durham," *Commemorative Landscapes of North Carolina* website, https://docsouth.unc.edu/commland/monument/118/.

overseeing the project. Rather than settle for the $5,000 that already had been put aside for the project, Carr insisted that $15,000 be raised instead, allowing for a much grander result. Having failed to convince the Durham County Commissioners that they should petition the legislature for this much higher sum, Carr resigned from his post. As a result, the monument that wound up being placed in front of the Old County Courthouse was this cheaper mass-produced model, and not what Carr had envisioned. Still, this did not stop Carr from being given a tribute at the monument's unveiling, as he died just five days before the ceremony.

Carr's association with the site has also colored present-day opinion of the monument. Carr was a well-known supporter of the Ku Klux Klan and a racist, and at the unveiling of another Confederate monument (this one in nearby Chapel Hill), he famously announced at the dedication ceremony, "100 yards from where we stand, less than 90 days perhaps after my return from Appomattox, I horse-whipped a negro wench, until her skirts hung in shreds, because upon the streets of this quiet village she had publicly insulted and maligned a Southern lady."[311]

The monument was dedicated on May 10, 1924, the event attended by about sixty Confederate veterans and hundreds more who packed themselves into the Durham County Courthouse for the ceremony. Many had traveled from as near as Chapel Hill and as far as South Boston, Virginia, many crying with "happiness and pride" over this monument that was a "perpetuation of their memory and their deeds."[312] General Albert L. Cox, a World War I veteran, in his dedication speech, told those gathered that they should "pause and reflect" upon what Confederate soldiers had done for them whenever they passed the monument.[313] For a contemporary perspective, James Leloudis, a professor of history at UNC Chapel Hill told the *Raleigh News & Observer* in 2017, "The monuments that went up

[311] "Confederate Soldiers Monument, Durham," *Commemorative Landscapes of North Carolina.*
[312] Eanes, Zachery, "Durham Confederate Statue: Tribute to Dying Veterans of Political Tool of Jim Crow South?" *Raleigh News & Observer*, Aug. 16, 2017, Accessed online.
[313] Ibid.

in the 'teens and 20s had a far more overtly political purpose….it is very clear that those monuments are aimed at the rising generation of young North Carolinians who were coming of age, and who were born after the white supremacy struggles at the end of the 19th century. The funders and backers of these monuments are very explicit that they are requiring a political education and a legitimacy for the Jim Crow era and the right of white men to rule."[314] In other words, the erection of Durham's monument was directly correlated to the creation and preservation of memory, specifically in terms of reminding the state's youth that it was whites, and not blacks, who were meant to be the ones in control.

The Durham Confederate monument is the direct result of a private group colonizing public space. As a public monument, Durham's Confederate Soldiers Monument, "Erected by the People of Durham," had been not only been paid for, but also had been taken care of for all those decades with the taxpayer's money. At this time blacks paid taxes, but were unable to vote "due to systematic disenfranchisement campaigns and violence supported by white leaders like Carr."[315] This set up an imbalanced system—those who were paying taxes were not all able to participate in the decision-making process as to how that money was spent.

Today Durham is a relatively progressive city surrounded by a more conservative state. It's an old industrial city, with a strong black middle-class, and is home to what has been known as "Black Wall Street," a nickname for Parris Street that came about in the early 20th century, as it was a thriving major center of African-American business.[316] Both the city and county are forty-percent black. And although in terms of numbers within the city, black and whites are about equal, African Americans are "more likely to be subject to police traffic stops, more likely to be arrested for marijuana, and more likely to be

[314] Eanes, "Durham Confederate Statue."
[315] *Report of the Durham City-County Committee on Confederate Monuments and Memorials*, Jan. 2019, p. 15.
[316] Graham, David A., "Durham's Confederate Statue Comes Down: Unwilling to Wait for Local Officials to Act to Take Down a Civil War Monument, a Group of Protesters Took Matters Into Their Own Hands Monday Night," *The Atlantic*, Aug. 15, 2017. Accessed online.

poor."[317] Therefore, taxpayer money continues to support a symbol of that which suppressed these very people.

After the massacre in Charleston, South Carolina took place, definitively swaying the momentum against the Confederacy and its symbols. In the wake of these events, on July 23, 2015, then North Carolina Governor Pat McCrory, Republican, signed a bill into law, North Carolina General Statute 100-2.1. a section of Senate Bill 22, Protection of Monuments, Memorials, and Works of Art. The law essentially made it impossible to remove historical monuments and memorials within the state. The state has over 120 Civil War monuments, over ninety of which are Confederate monuments, tied with Georgia for the second highest number in the country after Virginia (who has ninety-six). The bill had passed in the Senate back in April, but only passed in the House two days prior, following heated debate over the Confederate monument controversy. In a news release, Governor McCrory said, "Our monuments and memorials remind us of North Carolina's complete story. The protection of our heritage is a matter of statewide significance to ensure that our rich history will always be preserved and remembered for generations to come. I remain committed to ensuring that our past, present and future state monuments tell the complete story of North Carolina."[318]

In that vein, the bill passed, banning state agencies and local governments from removing, relocating, or altering any "object of remembrance" on public property. An "object of remembrance" means "a monument, memorial, plaque, statue, marker, or display of a permanent character that commemorates an event, a person, or military service that is part of North Carolina's history." To remove such an object would require the approval of the North Carolina Historical Commission, whose commissioners are appointed by the governor to staggered terms. According to the act, a publicly-

[317] Graham, "The Stubborn Persistence of Confederate Monuments, Cont'd."
[318] Campbell, Colin, "McCrory Signs Ban on Removing Historical Monuments," *Raleigh News & Observer*, July 23, 2015, Accessed online.

owned object of remembrance may be temporarily relocated, and then replaced after no more than 90 days, only for the sake of an object's own preservation, or if the object is blocking construction zones. If it is permanently relocated, it must be relocated to a "site of similar prominence, honor, visibility, availability, and access that are within the boundaries of the jurisdiction." The only way one of these objects could be removed, relocated or altered is if, among other reasons, the monument "poses a threat to public safety because of an unsafe of dangerous condition." An object may be exempt from the law only if it is a Board of Transportation highway marker, is privately-owned, or poses a threat to public safety. [319] Additionally, any person who damages or destroys public property could be charged with a Class 1 misdemeanor under state law, and if convicted, receive a $500 fine and 24 hours of community service. [320] Thus, the law essentially froze the state's Confederate monuments in place. Nothing could be done to them without special permission.

From August 11th to 12th, 2017, the deadly and tragic events in Charlottesville, Virginia unfurled three hours north, instigating a chain of events in Durham. On Sunday night, August 13th, a vigil was held in downtown Durham, attended by hundreds, with the goal, according to its organizers, to "take a public stand against racism and white supremacy, but also to mourn following a day that saw one anti-racist protester killed and dozens injured." [321] This memorial vigil was one of several that occurred in the North Carolina Research Triangle region and across the country in direct response to Charlottesville.

However, certain organizations were not invited to formally participate in the vigil, including the members of the Industrial Workers of the World, Workers World Party, Redneck Revolt, and Democrats Socialists of America, who had been left out because of what organizers perceived as these groups'

[319] North Carolina General Statue 100-2.1. a section of Senate Bill 22, Protection of Monuments, Memorials, and Works of Art.
[320] Bridges, Virginia, "Protesters Topple Confederate Solider Statue in Downtown Durham," *Raleigh News & Observer*, Aug. 14, 2017, Accessed online.
[321] Willets, Sarah, "Following White Supremacist Rally in Charlottesville, Hundreds Gather for Durham Vigil," *IndyWeek*, Aug. 14, 2017, Accessed online.

potential for violence. A member of the Workers World Party wound up being handed a microphone anyway, and invited everyone "who believes that the KKK and the Nazis do not deserve free speech, do not deserve a second chance, do not deserve kindness" to join them the following day in a march to the Confederate Soldiers Monument.[322] The Workers World Party, along with several other anti-racist and anti-fascist groups had organized their own "emergency" protest in response and to show solidarity with Charlottesville. Founded in 1959 by Sam Marcy, the Workers World Party is a communist party that supports issues such as anti-racism, Black Lives Matter, and the LGBTQ community.

Part of the issue for these anti-racist and anti-fascist groups was the fact that the Charlottesville riots were instigated by controversy over that city's own monument to General Robert E. Lee. The white supremacist Unite the Right supporters had descended on Charlottesville in response to the news that the city had made plans to remove the monument. The group that rallied included neo-Nazis, KKK members, and other white supremacists, many wielding weapons and Nazi and Confederate flags. Because this rally, in the name of saving Charlottesville's Lee Monument, had turned violent, resulting in the death of one young woman and the injury of many more, Durham's own anti-racists and anti-fascists hoped that they could topple their own Confederate monument, and all other such monuments, so that "no more innocent people have to be killed."[323] Durham's groups wanted to engage in direct action, taking the matter into their own hands, rather than wait for the city government to take the Confederate Soldiers Monument down. They were not interested in the "gradualism" of Confederate monument removal—as David A. Graham noted in *The Atlantic* about these people, if "white supremacists are being radicalized by the removal of Confederate monuments, there's a coalition of

[322] Willets, "Following White Supremacist Rally."
[323] Misra, Tanvi, "How Durham Protesters Topped a Confederate Statue," *City Lab*, Aug. 14, 2017, Accessed online.

leftists that is reacting to them with their own radicalization, deciding that if elected leaders…won't move fast, they'll do it themselves."[324]

This desire to engage in "tactics" of direct action sprung too from what these groups perceived as a change in the needs of the community, including a need to resist domestic terror. Workers World Party Durham member Eva Panjwani spoke about how conversations "about loving your neighbor haven't worked," and Alissa Ellis, of the same party, said "We need to shun passive, white liberalism" that elevates whites voices over black and brown voices.[325] If Durham County was in no rush to remove its Confederate monument, the protesters decided they would do it themselves. Takiyah Thompson, who would later be arrested said, "We are tired of waiting on politicians who could have voted to remove the white supremacist statues years ago, but they failed to act. So we acted."[326] Still, this rationale did not tell the whole story, seeing as the 2015 state law still stood, preventing the removal of any historic monuments without permission, in effect tying up the hands of the County Commission from taking the Confederate monument down.

Interestingly, the commission wound up releasing a statement the morning after the toppling of the statue, in effect endorsing the protesters' actions, so it's not as though they were against removal. In fact, in relatively liberal Durham, the commission usually stood in direct opposition to the state government, which tended to work more conservatively. As a result, the site of this monument, in the City of Durham, but on the grounds of the old state courthouse, presented a peculiar case. Those within the city proper might have supported the felling of the statue, but the state law still remained that it was illegal to touch it.

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[324] Graham, "Durham's Confederate Statue Comes Down."

[325] Bridges, "Protesters Topple Confederate Solider Statue."

[326] Judge, Monique, "Durham, NC, Activists Stand in Solidarity, Crowds Gather to Turn Themselves In for Toppling Confederate Statue," *The Root*, Aug. 17, 2017, Accessed online.

Thus, in an attempt to take matters into their own hands, Durham protesters and anti-monument supporters took to the streets on August 14, 2017, at around 6pm, in order to counter-protest the relatively incident-free vigils taking place in response to Charlottesville, and to rally for the removal of Durham's own Confederate Monument. Attracting a crowd of over 100 people in front of the Old County Courthouse, where, it so happened, the county commissioners were holding a regular meeting, protestors gathered en masse before the monument. No one, it seemed, knew exactly what would take place. In addition to members of the Workers World Party, there were also representatives from the Triangle People's Assembly, Industrial Workers of the World, Democratic Socialists of America, and the antifa (antifascist) movement. The group rallied around the Confederate Soldiers Monument, chanting "No KKK, no fascist USA!" and "We are the revolution!" In addition to the chanting and cheering, people shared their experiences having been in Charlottesville and others called for an end to racism in their communities and across the South. There were calls for other Confederate monuments to come down, including "Silent Sam," the controversial monument just a few miles away on the UNC Chapel Hill campus.

Just after 7pm, a college student, Takiyah Thompson, climbed a ladder that had been propped up against the Confederate Soldiers Monument. She slipped a yellow rope around the anonymous figure's neck, and as she explains it, threw the rope down into the crowd so "the crowd could decide if they wanted to pull it down or not."[327] The crowd did decide to pull, and, almost too easily, moments later the statue somersaulted headfirst off its pedestal and landed on the ground in front of its base. Again, the statue wasn't made of solid bronze, but cheaply produced coated sheet metal. Protesters continued to cheer, and many ran up to the statue, kicking it as it lay on the ground, while other posed next to it for photos. The crowd, with many holding hands, then marched down East Main Street, the

[327] Goodman, Amy and Juan Gonzalez, "Meet the College Student Who Pulled Down a Confederate Statue in Durham & Defied White Supremacy," *Democracy Now!*, Aug. 16, 2017, Accessed online.

street having been blocked off by sheriff deputies' cars, to the new Durham police headquarters building that was being built, and then back up to the fallen monument. People held signs saying "Black Lives Matter," "The Whole Damn System Is Guilty as Hell," and "Cops and Klan Go Hand in Hand," and there was "an air of euphoria in the crowd."[328] At 8:26pm, protesters were asked to leave by a law enforcement officer, many making their way starting around 8:34pm. By about 9pm, officers that had been wearing riot gear left the scene, and eventually the crumpled statue was taken away by city workers after most of the protesters had dispersed, leaving behind the 10-foot pedestal.

Remarkably, while the Durham monument was being torn down, the Durham County Commission was responding in its own way to the events in Charlottesville inside the old courthouse during a regularly scheduled meeting. During that meeting a resolution was read aloud "supporting the people of Charlottesville and condemning (the) violent acts that occurred."[329] And earlier that day, County Commissioners Chairwoman Wendy Jacobs said she had asked county staff to begin researching the history of the Confederate Soldiers Monument, as well as the specifics of the state legislature's laws regarding how the state's monuments could be handled. Jacobs admitted that "We don't even have the basic information about the history of the statue. We don't know anything about what the current laws are. The first step of any conversation is understanding what the facts are."[330] Thus, concurrently, but with no relation to the direct action of the protesters, the county was beginning to strategize about their Confederate monument, without knowing what was taking place outside.

Notably, there were no arrests made during the protests, despite the presence of the Durham Police Department. Because the toppling of the statue technically occurred on county property, and therefore was under the jurisdiction of the Durham County Sheriff's Office, the local police force kept

[328] Graham, "Durham's Confederate Statue Comes Down."
[329] Goodman and Gonzalez, "Meet the College Student."
[330] Bridges, "Protesters Topple Confederate Solider Statue."

out, stating "no infractions occurred within city jurisdiction."[331] However, those present from the sheriff's office did not make any arrests either, and instead stood by filming the events on video as they unfolded. By midnight, Durham County has issued a statement:

> "Our elected officials and senior staff understand the unrest in our nation and community, particularly following the senseless acts that took place in Charlottesville, VA. We share the sentiments of many communities around the nation that admonish hate and acts of violence as we believe civility is necessary in our every action and response. Governmental agencies dedicated to public safety will continue to work collectively to ensure Durham remains a community of excellence where all of our residents can live peacefully, grow and thrive."[332]

Governor Roy Cooper also weighed in, tweeting "the racism and deadly violence in Charlottesville is unacceptable but there is a better way to remove these monuments."[333] The following day Cooper said he would be in favor of removing Durham's Confederate monument but it would require the repeal of the 2015 law: "I don't pretend to know what it's like for a person of color to pass by one of these monuments and consider that those memorialized in stone and metal did not value my freedom or humanity. Unlike an African-American father, I'll never have to explain to my daughters why there exists an exalted monument for those who wished to keep her and her ancestors in chains."[334] Cooper appears to have been grappling with the monument in an empathetically hypothetical way. At the heart of what he's getting to is a basic recognition regarding universal questions of humanity. He is also being honest about his white privilege. This monument, he acknowledges, held an unspoken power

[331] Willets, Sarah, "'Make Racists Afraid Again': The Scene as Demonstrators Toppled a Confederate Monument in Durham Monday," *IndyWeek*, Aug. 15, 2017, Accessed online.
[332] Ibid.
[333] Bridges, "Protesters Topple Confederate Solider Statue."
[334] Jackson, Amanda and Ralph Ellis, "Seven Arrested in Toppling of Confederate Statue in North Carolina," *CNN,* Aug. 16, 2017, Accessed online.

that many felt, even if he, a white man, did not personally understand. That is justification for its removal.

And Durham Mayor Bill Bell, the city's longest serving mayor, and the second African-American to hold that post, said "The tearing down of the statue represents the frustrations of the people in attendance last night, given the climate in this country and specifically what happened in Charlottesville."[335] Even Durham County Commissioner Brenda A. Howerton told *Time*, "I'm not speaking for the rest of my fellow commissioners, but personally, I'm not interested in using the taxpayers' dollars to put it back up."[336] There was support from these public figures, even if the law, and the Republican-led legislature, was not on their side.

The power of social media played a significant role in the events, as not only were videos and photos of the events shared across the internet, but due to the dissemination of this information, more people from around the country were able to weigh in rather quickly, both in support of what had taken place, as well as in disapproval. Among those who disapproved of the act were, of course, those who support keeping Confederate monuments up, but also at least one person who "likened (the topping of Durham's Confederate monument) to the Islamic State's destruction of historical artifacts."[337] Another who disapproved of the monument's removal called the protesters an "unruly mob," and likened the events to a "scene reminiscent of the French Revolution or the war in Iraq."[338] Someone called the group a "crowd of militant Leftists."[339] And even those who were not necessarily criticizing what happened still compared this dramatic fall to the toppling of Saddam Hussein and Lenin.

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[335] Jackson and Ellis, "Seven Arrested."
[336] Ibid.
[337] Astor, Maggies, "Protestors in Durham Topple a Confederate Monument," *New York Times*, Aug. 14, 2017, Accessed online.
[338] Stepman, Jarrett, "Mob Rule Prevails in Toppling of Confederate Statue," *The Daily Signal,* Aug. 15, 2017, Accessed online.
[339] Klugewicz, Stephen M., "What Did That Confederate Statue in Durham Stand For?" *The Imaginative Conservative*, Aug. 18, 2017, Accessed online.

Using a historical parallel to describe these current events is a notable choice, especially as the protest that brought the Confederate Monument down was relatively peaceful, compared to the violence seen in war and genocidal acts. The motivations for making these comparisons likely stem from a belief that it will increase the legitimacy of one's argument that the destructive act against the Confederate Monument was severe, radical, and threatening. It also calls out the fact that this act of destruction was done outside of legal democratic processes, just as with these other historical cases.

Additionally, those who make the point that these acts are destroying works of art are not incorrect. But how much art historical significances does the Confederate Monument really have? In this case the art historical argument is lessened because the statue was one of many mass-produced monuments, and not the work of a commissioned or famous artist or sculptor; its provenance is not as notable as a one-of-kind monument.

Still, this all speaks to the need for a public process in order to avoid the moment of shock in unplanned destruction. This would help communities to navigate the intersection between public art and political memory.

Others decried the tearing down of the statue as an act of desecration, calling it a removal of history, thereby confusing history with culturally formed memory. Monuments are meant exactly to create feelings and emotions embodied in their physical form, no matter what the facts of history might be. Communities, cities, or nations, use these sites to remind them of who they are and where they've come from, often seeking to form one overall narrative, as James Young would suggest: "The more fragmented and heterogeneous societies become, it seems, the stronger their need to unify wholly disparate experiences and memories with the common meaning seemingly created in common spaces."[340] This also points to how public space is used in this country—it is easy to claim that public

[340] Young, "Memory/Monument."

space is a neutral ground that "everyone has equal access to and safety within," and that it "speaks to the myth of America and pretends that once formed, public spaces must be permanent and unchangeable. It pretends too, that any ideas, once constructed in hardy materials like bronze or granite and placed in a public space, are forever valuable and worth preserving."[341] This is why for some it is so difficult to support these Confederate monuments being taken down.

But this is also why it is so important that the public sites of these monuments be reconsidered today, because as the representative of cultural memory, the sites might need to be contemporarily recontextualized, or formed and reformed. The myths and memories that these sites contain should be addressed, identified, and in many cases removed. As Stassa Edwards wrote in *Jezebel* the day after the Durham Confederate Soldiers Monument was torn down, public sculpture is about "narratives that often serve to usurp hard realities of history with romanticized notions of nation or national identity. And public spaces are not fixed, not have they ever been. Instead, they're formed through the continual negotiation of power and memory."[342] These spaces are also not sacred, as some would make them out to be.

Durham's monument, like all Confederate monuments, represented the formation of a monument in public space that promoted the agendas of those responsible for its erection, namely, the R.W. Webb Camp of the United Confederate Veterans and the Julian S. Carr Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, both of whom worked to further the interests of the Confederacy's legacy and the Lost Cause. But the Confederate monuments are not valuable just because they exist, but rather because of what they represent. Therefore, as the physical embodiment of racist ideals, they continue to publicly preserve those ideals in our current day and age. The myths of the Lost Cause, the honorable South, the benevolent slave owner, the godliness of Robert E. Lee, etc. have been allowed to

[341] Edwards, "Confederate Monuments Aren't History."
[342] Ibid.

exist as truth embodied in the physicality of these sites. At this point, they do may not accurately represent the communities of which they are a part.

Despite whatever philosophical reasoning there might have been to tear the Confederate Soldiers Monument down, it was still an illegal act, and eventually arrests were made. Those charged were for the most part okay with this consequence of their actions, and in fact, had the support of other community members. The day after the events, Takiyah Thompson, the 22-year-old who got up on the ladder, was arrested and charged with two felonies—participation in a riot with property damage in excess of $1,500 and inciting others to riot—and two misdemeanors—disorderly conduct by injury to a statue and damage to property.[343]

In the days following, more participants were arrested with similar felony and misdemeanor charges, having been identified from the video footage taken at the scene. A total of twelve people overall were arrested and charged (this number eventually dropped to eight after it was determined three were not involved, and one took a deferred prosecution agreement on three misdemeanor charges). But others in the community rallied once more the morning of August 17, around 8am outside the courthouse to protest the arrests, some even attempting to turn themselves in for arrest in solidarity. Serena Sebring, a demonstrator, was quoted as saying, "Dozens of people are here to take responsibility for the removal of that statue, which should make it clear that there are so many of us that support what happened. All of us are willing to share the cost of our freedom."[344] Overall, there too was a sense in the community that the felony charges were unwarranted, many calling for the charges to be dropped, including Durham City Councilman Charlie Reese, and other activists who

[343] Jackson and Ellis, "Seven Arrested."
[344] Judge, "Durham, NC, Activists Stand in Solidarity."

encouraged people to call the sheriff's office and demand the charges be dropped. Activists also set up a legal fund to assist the arrested.

Meanwhile, the County Commission was faced with a major decision: what should be done with the statue, the remaining pedestal, and the site itself now that the figure had been taken down, and what were their options considering that using formal processes to move ahead were not only restricting, but also unclear for their particular situation. The law did not specify what should be done in the event of damaged property. Overall, there was support from the council to leave the statue off the site, but they had to ask County Attorney Lowell Siler to explain how the 2015 law limited their abilities to move forward and what they were legally allowed to do. Once they got his opinion and were in full understanding of their legal options, they planned to include the community in their next steps. Commissioner Heidi Carter noted "Whatever the cost of the statue is, we have to weigh that against both benefits and harms (to the community) to determine what the value is. I would say the harm far outweighs the benefits."[345] And during this moment of uncertainty, District Attorney Roger Echols admitted "Justice also requires that I be aware that asking people to be patient and to let various government institutions address injustice is sometimes asking more than those who have been historically ignored, marginalized or harmed by a system can bear."[346]

There is evidence that the county replaced the grassy area around the monument at some point during the year, installing bricks and steps leading up to the area with a bench nearby. Otherwise the base remains as it always has, and even today the inscriptions and cannonballs are still there.[347]

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[345] Toth, Casey, "Durham Commissioner: Confederate Statue Not Worth 'the Pain and Suffering,'" *Raleigh News & Observer*, Aug. 25, 2017, Accessed online.
[346] Ibid.
[347] Vaughan, Dawn Baumgartner, "Protesters Brought Down the Durham Confederate Statue a Year Ago. Some Want it Restored," *The Herald Sun*, Aug. 8, 2018, Accessed online.

Also during this time, as the site stood still, the statue having been removed, and before any action would legally allow any further changes to be made there, one artist took matters into his or her own hands, replacing the Confederate soldier figure with a counter-monument. *The Raleigh News & Observer* reported that this new sculpture had been placed atop the existing pedestal on November 17, 2017, a few months after the toppling, and appeared early in the morning as the sun came up. The sculpture was removed by 7:30am later that morning. The artist, who asked not to be identified, said the work was meant to symbolize hope for different races and genders, for equal rights and "equal everything."[348] This counter-monument consisted of several long arms with fists raised upwards, which stood atop the pedestal, and included a thin flag that said hope in many languages. It was constructed out of cement and steel, and took about a week to create.

By January 2018, it was announced that the felony charges against the remaining eight activists would be dropped, leaving them to face only their misdemeanor charges, and in February, their trials began, all defendants represented by attorney Scott Holmes. All remaining charges against the defendants were dropped, leaving much room for interpretation. What did this mean, and how would it affect the future of the Confederate monument debate? Likely, it would most directly influence the debate in terms of it having set a precedent, not only legally, but in terms of providing a model or inspiration for other activists. Qasima Wideman, one of the defendants, after the ruling was announced, said "(The decision) also will hopefully help people to feel empowered to take bold action, to know that when they act together, when they organize and have strong communities behind them, that they can accomplish really amazing things."[349]

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[348] Bridges, Virginia, "New Sculpture Places Where Confederate Statue Once Stood in Downtown Durham," *Raleigh News & Observer*, Nov. 17, 2017, Accessed online.

[349] Graham, David A., "How the Activists Who Tore Down Durham's Confederate Statue Got Away With It: On Tuesday, the District Attorney in Durham, North Carolina, Dismissed All Remaining Charges in the August Case. What Does That Mean for the Future of Statues Around the Country?" *The Atlantic*, Feb. 21, 2018, Accessed online.

Still, the decision over what to do with the site and the pedestal itself remained unresolved in August 2018, a year after the Confederate soldier was torn down. The Sons of Confederate Veterans were still pressing to have the statue restored and put back on site. Governor Cooper called for the repeal of the 2015 law, and petitioned the North Carolina Historical Commission to relocate three other Confederate monuments from the state Capitol grounds. While neither the law was repealed, and the decision over these other monuments was postponed, eventually a committee was created to study the matter and to determine what should be done with what was left of the monument. The Joint City-County Committee voted unanimously to support the creation of the twelve-person City-County Durham Confederate Monuments Committee, who would work together and eventually deliver a report on their findings. The City and County each appointed five members, "striving for a balance of age, gender, race, and profession."[350] Additionally the City and County agreed on two co-chairs, Robin Kirk and Dr. Charmaine McKissick-Melton. The Monuments Committee would come to its conclusion via consensus of all twelve committee members.

The Monuments Committee would engage the Durham community in an expansive and transparent public process in an attempt to determine the best options for Durham, including public engagement, expert opinion, and open discussion. They held eight public meetings over the course of 2018, some with invited speakers. The Committee also maintained a Facebook page, a Twitter feed, an email address, and a physical mailing address at which to collect community opinion. They circulated a Google survey via a link posted to Facebook and circulated by email. All of the materials generated during the process were made public, and are available with the North Carolina Collection at the Durham Public Library.[351]

[350] *Report of the Durham City-County Committee on Confederate Monuments and Memorials*, p. 3.
[351] *Ibid.*, pp. 3-5.

Finally, in early January 2019, after nearly a year of research and transparent discussion over Confederate monuments, memorials, and symbols in Durham, the Monument Committee filed their 25-page report, presenting their findings to the Joint City-County Committee on January 8. Most notably, they recommended that the Durham Confederate Soldier statue remain in its crumpled state and be displayed inside the Old County Courthouse Building along with explanatory text, and that the base of the monument be removed and taken to a local cemetery as part of an expanded public art project honoring enslaved people and the fight for civil rights. (It should be noted that of the two cemeteries called out for consideration by the committee, one, Beechwood, is historically black, upsetting some of the County Commissioners.) The report states, "When the statue was taken down, it was irreparably damaged. Nevertheless, the statue remains as much a historical artifact of these times as it is an artifact of the period when it was planned, erected, and viewed. We believe that the statue should be displayed in its current condition so that the whole history of race relations and the fight for civil rights in Durham may in part be illuminated through this object."[352] The recommendations also included ideas for handling other Confederate sites within the county, as well as suggested some new works of public art and memorials that would honor various people and events currently not part of the public landscape.

This recommendation, to display the damaged statue in a public venue, while relocating the monument base and recontextualizing it, takes a position that is neither about the complete erasure of the object(s) from public view, nor about failing to acknowledge their role in current events. This middle position therefore allows people to continue to have opportunities to grapple with the physical traces of the monument and its complex and difficult history. It's a vehicle by which the community can deal with that troubled history through sites and symbols whose meanings are being allowed, and even encourage, to continue to change.

[352] *Report of the Durham City-County Committee on Confederate Monuments and Memorials*, p. 6.

The opinions regarding the final report varied, but finally, these were just recommendations, and the truth of the matter is that in terms of the Confederate Soldiers Monument's site itself, nothing at all could be done unless Durham County applied for a waiver to the 2015 law, or the law was revoked outright. Even the report specifically states "we recognized specific legal restrictions on the ability of the City and County to make decisions. While other communities have undergone independent processes to reckon with the fate of similar monuments, Durham must take into consideration the 2015 state law that governs 'objects of remembrance.'"[353]

However, the law does not address damaged monuments, leaving potential room for Durham to act—the law only refers to intact objects. Therefore, the Durham Confederate Soldiers Monument may be able to operate beyond the scope of the law. Additionally, the statute allows for modification or removal of an "object of remembrance" when public safety is an issue. As one of the Committee's invited speakers, UNC School of Government professor Adam Lovelady pointed out,

> "Protests and counter-protests in Charlottesville, Virginia, showed the potential for threats to public safety surrounding an object of remembrance. Moreover, the toppled statue in Durham displayed the potential of an unsafe and dangerous condition when protesters pulled down a monument. Could the public safety exception apply when the dangerous condition arises from actions related to the object rather than from the physical object itself? Possibly, but the statute is not clear."[354]

Lovelady also stated that the statute did not say anything about adding new elements to a monument. But whatever this might mean, or however the law is interpreted, the committee was still very concerned with what public safety threats there might be simply from putting the statue back in public. Finally, in the words of co-chair Kirk, the committee's goal was "to look to the future, not re-fight past

[353] *Report of the Durham City-County Committee on Confederate Monuments and Memorials*, p. 11.
[354] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

battles. Central to our recommendations is that we accept all of our past…both the dignity and the degradation of our ancestors. Above all, we see this as an opportunity to deepen our commitment to education and the values that unite us, including a commitment to learning and embracing our increasingly diverse community."[355]

The recommendations were given over to the city and county attorneys, who would then make their own recommendations in consideration of the legal climate and their own interpretations of what the law is meant to say. As the report also notes, none of the various interpretations of the law had yet been tested in court, and at this time it was impossible to know not only "who could bring such a challenge" to court, but also what the outcome might be.[356] The ultimate decision over what to do with the site is the decision of the county, as they own the property, but whatever that decision is, it must be done in line with an interpretation of the 2015 law. Currently, there are no plans for the city or county to lobby legislators to change that law.[357]

The report and recommendations were also to be shared with the group organizing Durham's sesquicentennial, who have been planning events for 2019, the city's 150th anniversary.

[355] Willets, Sarah, "What Might Happen to Durham's Toppled Confederate Monument? City, County Leaders Hear Recommendations," *IndyWeek*, Jan. 8, 2019, Accessed online.
[356] *Report of the Durham City-County Committee on Confederate Monuments and Memorials*, p. 19.
[357] Willets, "What Might Happen?"

CHAPTER EIGHT

Conclusion

As Eric Foner writes, "Public monuments tell us more about the moment of their creation than about the history they commemorate."[358] What he is getting at is the fact that what's important is not about monuments in their entirety, or in particular, but rather the debate over which aspects of history are allowed to be celebrated in the public realm. What were the particular circumstances under which a monument to the Confederacy would have initially been introduced? Does it help us to recall those times in the present? A site that has been erased cannot function or do its job of speaking to the public, and therefore alternative options become necessary in considering what to do with these locations of former monuments.

This analysis was both spatial and process-driven, with a consideration of the legal and political framework affecting the sites of former Confederate monuments. Through an exploratory and comparative study of these five sites, using new and underrepresented sources, together with scholarly research, I have sought to use these sites as examples in order to arrive at and inform shared processes and practices through which cities, communities, preservationists, and other experts might consider treating their own similar sites moving forward, as the practices of commemoration and memory continue to change over time.

[358] Foner, "A Questionnaire on Monuments: 49 Responses," p. 56.

To reiterate, these sites were the physical spatialization of the Lost Cause narrative of the Confederacy, creating permanent spatializations of that cause. These monuments are both physical and temporal encounters that have aided in the process of collective memory-making. While they are products of that collective memory, they communicate and function with the public at large due to the fact that they carry so much weight in their history.

To summarize each case study, I present the following:

New Orleans

Chapter Three examined the Robert E. Lee Monument and its site, Lee Circle, in New Orleans, Louisiana, a city whose process to remove its statue of Lee from its public landscape was inspired by the events in Charleston and originally called for by the mayor. There was a city law on the books that stated that a monument deemed a "nuisance" could be removed. Per special commission recommendation and a city council vote, the city voted to remove the statue of Lee, as well as three other monuments. In broad daylight the statue came down. The site, including its designed landscaping and pedestal, still remains intact. Despite a lack of official public engagement on the part of the city before the removal, as well as a lack of consideration for what would happen to the site once Lee's figure was removed, the mayor called upon a local grassroots design organization to formally run a public outreach campaign to investigate what city residents might have in mind for the site. While the decision ultimately rests with the city government, New Orleans has at least appeared to be allowing the process to be as democratic and public as possible. Additionally, other than finding a way around the law by deeming the site a public nuisance, there were no major legal hurdles thrown in the city's way towards making a decision, either during the process to remove the statue, or moving forward in dealing with the site.

Baltimore

Chapter Four explored the Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson Monument and Wyman Park Dell in Baltimore, Maryland, which, unlike Lee in New Orleans, was left to stand longer after the events in Charleston. However, publicly acknowledging what happened in South Carolina, the mayor of Baltimore did call for the formation of a special commission to review the city's public monuments and make recommendations on what should be done with them. The recommendation that the Lee and Jackson figures should be removed was received by the city council, but due to state law, the city couldn't touch them without the approval of the state historic preservation office. Therefore as an immediate intervention the mayor had reinterpretive plaques added to the monument, while grassroots action took place in protest, most notably through the introduction of a counter-monument, Madre Luz, to the site. This was the status quo until August 2017 when the riots in Charlottesville erupted. Using the law to her advantage, and in direct response to the events in Charlottesville, the mayor invoked a public safety clause in the local preservation ordinance to have the figures of Jackson and Lee removed overnight, as well as the city's other Confederate Monuments, in order to avoid potential protest or violence in Baltimore on the heels of what happened in Virginia. Yet there were no provisions made for what would happen specifically to the site after the figures were removed, and the empty pedestal remains. Madre Luz was reintroduced on site, and eventually the park was renamed, however there is still no clear direction for what will happen here.

Memphis

Chapter Five investigated the Nathan Bedford Forrest Monument and Health Sciences Park in Memphis, Tennessee, which had for a long time been the focus of contention amongst the city's residents, even before the events in Charleston inspired a state law that was created preventing the

removal or alteration of any public monument. However in response to the events in Charleston two years later the city council unanimously approved the removal of this and other Confederate statues in the city; but the city's hands were tied on account of the state law. Meanwhile grassroots action grew and the city was faced with a desire to have the statues removed and the issue resolved by the 50th anniversary of the Martin Luther King, Jr.'s assassination. In a shrewd handling of the law, the city council wound up creating a nonprofit organization to whom they could sell the site, for a nominal fee, and that nonprofit therefore would have the power, being outside of the state law, to have the monument removed, which is what wound up taking place per city council vote. The empty pedestal was left standing. The act of sale and removal were ruled legal, however the site remains intact, and no plans are being made for what will happen to it because the nonprofit, the city, and outside groups continue to remain embroiled in law suits.

Demopolis

Chapter Six analyzed the Confederate Monument at the intersection of North Main Avenue and East Capitol Street in Demopolis, Alabama, a unique case because of the manner in which its Confederate monument was removed. Rather than via official action, the monument was destroyed spontaneously—an unpredictable accident caused the monument's statue to topple over. While there was public speculation as to what the facts were regarding this incident, the mayor had a special commission brought together to make recommendations for how to treat the site now that the accident had triggered the conversation. The events in Charleston seemingly had no effect on the city in terms of it officially expressing that it needed to address this site. The commission's process was not transparent, and its recommendations were to replace not the soldier figure on site, but to introduce a generic obelisk instead. A delayed attempt at preventative legal action sprung into play just after the city

council vote on the obelisk, and that state law, which mandated that no monument be removed, renamed, or altered was eventually deemed null and void in this case. The solution for what was done with the site in this case may or may not be considered a success by the city and its residents, but what this case exemplifies is a democratic process in action, which may in fact be a best-case scenario—to agree to disagree agreeably.

Durham

Chapter Seven evaluated the Confederate Soldiers Monument in front of the Old Durham County Courthouse in Durham, North Carolina, which was destroyed via public protest in response to the events in Charlottesville. While this action was illegal, it got the generic soldier statue down when the city and county were essentially unable to take any action because of a state law mandating that any "object of remembrance" would need approval for removal or alteration. Because it was destroyed in protest the site may or may not be held to the state law any longer; the law does not say anything about damaged monuments. An appointed special commission recommended that the crumpled statue be displayed in its current state and the pedestal of the monument moved to another location and recontextualized, however, because of legal questions, the site is at a standstill.

SHARED PROCESSES AND PRACTICES

Shared processes and practices were revealed through these five case studies and the local circumstances surrounding each monument, including contemporary events and local politics. It is hoped this analysis will suggest ways preservation might approach these and other contentious sites in the future, helping to advance local, national, and global conversations about how controversial sites

can be dealt with more constructively and inclusively moving forward. These shared process and practices include:

- Advocating for recontextualization;
- The importance of local politics and participatory practices, such as town hall meetings, popular vote, grassroots initiatives, and social media in considering monuments and their sites;
- The opportunities and limitations of abstract counter-monuments; and
- The need for a comprehensive understanding of preservation law.

It is undesirable and problematic to attempt to achieve complete erasure at any historic sites. In removing all traces of the physical historic past, which could be translated into an attempt at erasing memory as well, communities would be liable for attempting to erase their collective memory. It is impossible that sites could ever be rid of their embedded histories, at least while those who have lived with the sites in their current states continue to live. To erase memory entirely from a site is an unattainable goal. Even without the physical remnants of what might have once stood, these locations will remain ingrained with memory.

Rather than try to wipe out problematic elements, both physical and intangible, from these sites altogether, the recontextualization of contentious sites offers more opportunities for healing the old wounds that these sites may have introduced in the first place. Although sites might be associated with a power structure no longer in place, such as one as highly despised or feared such as the Lost Cause and the Confederacy, public monuments and sites are able to remind us where we've come from and who we are, so there is validity in the argument for preserving heritage.

Thus while the preservation of collective memory is important, these sites are so embedded with history that recontextualizing them would make it possible for the sites to continue to teach us

about the past while suppressing the pain and violence of their previous lives. Recontextualization might involve the full physical removal of problematic monuments and their replacement with new monuments, or it could include introducing new elements onto sites that interact with what's already on the site and helping to explain the full extent of what these sites mean.

Local politics and participatory practices are exceedingly important in informing how these contentious sites are dealt with. It seems increasingly clear that communities should avoid top-down paternalistic approaches, with their eyes set only on the final product and at the expense of the process, especially since heritage develops from the bottom-up as it continually makes and remakes communities. What is required in working with these contentious sites is a delicate balance—those with decision-making powers at the top need to symbiotically work with professionals (preservationists, historians, etc.) as well as the greater public at large.

Public participation, as well as collaborative problem solving, should be taking place at all levels of a community. Power doesn't just have to come from the top, but from all invested parties and stakeholders, whether they have the rule of law on their side or not. These sites and these monuments in public space exist for entire communities, as well as future generations, and not just for those in charge or who have the power to keep them up. This moment of rethinking these sites has great potential and the ability to create situations where many different types of groups can creativily work together as our heritage is being given another opportunity to redefine itself as it looks to the future.

In order to stimulate more participation across all levels of community, practices such as town hall meetings, popular vote, grassroots initiatives, and social media can be helpful in considering these contentious monuments and their sites. These practices will allow for more open, frank conversations, and help to enliven public debate. They will consider the voices of a greater cross section of the population, and allow for more inclusive participation.

The traditional neoclassical visual language of monuments has become increasingly challenged in recent years at these Confederate monument sites, especially through the use of counter-monuments. These new forms of monuments, often abstract, suggest that there isn't one kind of physical monument solution, or a single way to memorialize the past. The counter-monument is an opportunity for either grassroots artists and activists or community policy makers to introduce new modes of memorialization, memory, and representation onto contentious sites, thereby addressing the controversies at stake in these locations and allowing their debates to take on a new form. These monuments speak to new and different themes for remembrance and celebration, and suggest a more democratic way of influencing collective public memory. They move away from the figural, single-narrative traditions of monument making, and offer opportunities for the interpretation of multiple meanings.

However, as with traditional monuments, which are often criticized for supporting certain definitive values, abstract counter-monuments can be limiting in that they may not necessarily represent all of the values of certain communities as well. While they may be more open to interpretation, it is still impossible for them to re-envision all of the narratives that individuals might want to see at these sites. In this way, counter-monuments may expose the power of collective memory, and how it really is representative of the tendency for communities to create one overarching narrative for themselves, superseding individual memory or one history.

Still, counter-monuments are ways of claiming physical public space, while attempting to create a continuum with the embedded histories there. They challenge conventional ideas that monuments need to be permanent, metal and stone, figural, or unchanging. But they also can serve as the basis for the education of the public, community exchange, and the initiation of dealing with tough issues.

Finally, having a comprehensive understanding of preservation law is necessary for the navigation of these sites both presently and in the future, as it is these laws finally that ultimately determine what actions may be taken regarding these monuments and sites at all. Preservation practice itself is implicated in the monument controversy directly as laws created in its name have been and continue to be passed which severely limit what can be done with many of these sites, often using blanket statements that simply disallow the removal or alteration of historic monuments, without fully considering the greater implications of what the effects of that might be on the overall built environment. As is evidenced by the investigations in this thesis, the law can absolutely dictate an entire process simply by not allowing these monuments to even be touched.

Conversely, by understanding the law fully, those responsible for these decisions can more effectively work within and around them if necessary. A comprehensive understanding includes not just knowing what can and cannot be done to the monuments themselves from a day-to-day standpoint, but also how the law might leave room for alternative options for removal or recontextualization. For example, a public safety clause might be invoked in order to work around the prohibition of touching historic sites, or the law might not explicitly mandate what can be done with monuments in certain conditions, such a those that are damaged, thereby making them exempt from the law. Other times, an option might be to remove a monument from the grips of the law altogether through its legal sale to an outside party, thereby allowing for its removal or alteration. It may seem a bit like having to play a game, but being aware of the law, including its limitations as well as its potential advantages, is imperative.

As James Young has argued, no solution *is* a solution—if sites and monuments are left "unfinished" and their discourse is kept alive, then these sites are doing their jobs—we are forced to

remember and recall though that discourse. We are doing the work of remembering ourselves, rather than falling back on a physical space or object to do that work for us. While grounded in the physical and spatial, heritage at its core is a social process that takes time, and evolves over time. It's about interacting with the built environment, especially with objects and places from past generations, and how this relationship informs not only culture today, but how we understand and live with the memories this evokes.

Thus we might consider memorializing the debate, and not necessarily the memory or the history at these sites. Monuments depend on the public for their meaning, but they are also sites of instruction. They are a fusion of public art, popular culture, historical memory, and political consequences, but we may enable them to best do their work if we allow their discourse to breathe a little. This goes for the processes surrounding these sites as well—as public democratic participation is so critical for the future of these sites, it should be understandable, and even desirable, for the process to be unplanned, messy, or impromptu. When events and issues erupt, or go out of order, we are forced to think differently, but this also allows for more creative, open, and inclusive ways of doing things.

For a site to be unfinished, in question, or under debate, even presumably without a monument in place, may in fact be a desirable quality. That these Confederate sites embody this concept suggest that we as a nation are on the right track—monuments live solely by the consent of their public[359]—and the United States is ready to argue that it does not grant its acceptance of these historic narratives. It is hoped the work presented here will constructively and inclusively inform local, national, and global conversations about how controversial sites can be dealt with moving forward in the pursuit of healing, while striving for processes of greater equity, collaboration, and integrity.

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Appendix

This Appendix includes images of the five case studies, including images of the monuments before their statues were removed, as well as after.

Also included is a spreadsheet which lists many of the Confederate monuments in the United States that have been removed since 2015. This list is by no means comprehensive, complete, or accurate. Rather it demonstrates a lot of the research and thinking that went into the early stages of this project. This list was helpful in navigating the sheer volume of potential sites to write about and helped me narrow my thinking down to five. This list is included as evidence, and should not be read as factual.

Figure 1: Lee Monument, Lee Cirle, New Orleans, before its figure of Lee was removed. Photo: https://greatruns.com/new-orleans-central-city-garden-district-route/.

Figure 2: Lee Circle, New Orleans, as the figure of Lee was removed (left) and after (right). Photo (left): https://twitter.com/BayouLewis/status/866000452994957312; Photo (right): Maura Whang.

Figure 3: Lee & Jackson Monument, Wyman Park Dell, Baltimore, before removal, with Madre Luz. Photo: https://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/baltimore-city/bal-baltimore-s-confederate-monuments-taken-down-over-night-photos-20170816-htmlstory.html.

Figure 4: Empty Lee & Jackson pedestal in Wyman Park Dell, Baltimore. Photo: https://anotherchicagomagazine.net/2018/08/31/madre-luz-by-steven-harvey/.

Figure 5: Forrest Monument, Health Sciences Park, Memphis, before its figure was removed. Photo: https://99percentinvisible.org/episode/notes-imagined-plaque/.

Figure 6: Forrest Monument, Health Sciences Park, Memphis, after its statue was removed. Photo: https://www.commercialappeal.com/story/news/2018/08/17/memphis-confederate-statues-lawsuit-injunction/1024792002/.

Figure 7: Confederate Monument, Demopolis, AL, before its statue was taken down. Photo: https://www.washingtonpost.com/sf/style/2017/07/20/a-car-crash-topples-a-confederate-statue-and-forces-a-southern-town-to-confront-its-past/?utm_term=.6e28d9cf47f7/.

Figure 8: Empty pedestal (left) and new obelisk (right) at the Confederate Soliders Monument, Demopolis, AL. Photos (left): https://www.demopolistimes.com/2017/12/04/ag-opinion-city-may-move-ahead-on-statue-plans/; Photo (right): https://m.demopolistimes.com/2018/12/10/statue-returns-to-downtown/.

Figure 9: Confederate Soliders Monument, Old County Courthouse, Durham, NC, just after statue was taken down; Takiyah Thompson is the figure to the far left. Photo: https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/14/us/confederate-statue-pulled-down-north-carolina-trnd/index.html.

Figure 10: Confederate Soliders Monument, Old County Courthouse, Durham, NC, with (left) and without (right) its statue. Photo (left): https://abc11.com/politics/protesters-pull-down-durham-confederate-statue/2308015/; Photo (right): https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/18/us/politics/right-and-left-on-removal-of-confederate-statues.html.

Site	Location	Who erected it, when, under what circumstances?	Who requested removal?	Why was it requested that it be removed?	Who has power to remove?	Located on Public or Private land?	Processes / Applicable laws	Removal date	Action/removal	Ongoing matters	Public Opinion?	Current condition of site	Current condition of removed monument
Confederate Soldiers and Sailors monument	Birmingham, AL	Erected to honor Confederate veterans in a downtown park in 1905	Mayor of Birmingham	William Bell, Birmingham City Council President: "Monuments are 'Offensive to our citizens'"	unsure-litigation ongoing	Public	The 10-page ruling issued late Monday by Jefferson County Circuit Judge Michael Graffeo said a 2017 state law barring the removal or alteration of historical monuments wrongly violated the free speech rights of local communities. The law can't be enforced, Graffeo ruled, but the state attorney general's office said it would appeal.	Pending	Rather than toppling the stone marker, the city built a 12-foot tall wooden box around it	Jan. 15, 2019: A judge has overturned an Alabama law meant to prevent the removal of Confederate monuments from public property, ruling the act infringed on the rights of citizens in a mostly black city who are "repulsed" by a memorial in a city park. The law includes a $25,000 penalty for removing or altering a historical monument, but the judge said the penalty was unconstitutional. The city hasn't had to pay while the lawsuit worked its way through court.			NA
Confederate soldier statue	Demopolis, AL	Marengo Rifles Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy; dedicated October 1910, The soldier stood atop the Confederate memorial since its was erected in 1910 as a project of the Daughters of the Confederacy.	Removal by accident, monument was taken out via a cop car that crashed into it, July 2016	NA		Public		Removed by accident July 2016		The Demopolis City Council voted in April to replace the soldier that stood atop a Confederate memorial with an obelisk. The motion was approved by a 3-2 vote., After the approval to make the change to the monument, Alabama Governor Kay Ivey signed the Alabama Memorial Preservation Act in May. The law prohibits local governments from moving or renaming historically significant buildings and monuments that date back to 40 years or longer. Demopolis ultimately decided not to repair and restore the statue, but instead to replace it with a more holistic memorial: an obelisk to commemorate the dead in all wars. But between the time the statue fell and the townspeople decided on what to do next, Alabama passed a law preventing the alteration of any memorial that has been standing for at least 40 years. So the town's project has ground to a halt.		An obelisk now tops the pedestal instead of the statue of the Confederate statue (Decemeber 2018)	As of December 2017, the statue will be replaced
Confederate Monument at Hollywood Forever Cemetery	Los Angeles, CA	The marker was erected in 1925. Honored all Confederates who had or would die on the western front.	People of Los Angeles	President of the Cemetery agreed to remove the monument after he received phone calls and the monument was vandalized/	Hollywood Forever Cemetery President (owned by the Long Beach chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy)	Private		Removed August 2017	After vandalism, the President of the Cemetery contacted the Daughters of the Confederacy who agreed to its removal.				Monument is being stored on site until a permanent solution can be found.
plaque honoring Jefferson Davis / Jefferson Davis Highway	San Diego, CA	Plaque was originally donated to the city of San Diego in 1926. According to to the United Daughters of the Confederacy website, it disappeared not long after that. A new one was made and rededicated in 1956, and the plaque remained in Horton Plaza Park after the park's reopening last year.	Citizens, Assemblywoman Lorena Gonzalez	Kevin Faulconer, San Diego Mayor: "San Diegans stand together against Confederate symbols of division,"	City Council of San Diego	Public		Removed August 2017	Citizens of San Diego launced a petiion on Change.org causing Assemblywoman Lorena Gonzalez to tweet at the City Councilman Chris Ward. The City Councilman had the plaque removed within hours.				Plaque returned to the Daughters of the Confederacy.
Monument "Old Joe"	Gainesville, FL	Unveiled January 19, 1904	County Commission	County Commission had debated the removal of the memorial for some time, but in the wake of Charlottesville protest, swift action was finally taken due to concerns of violence.	County Commission	Public		Removed August 2017	Quietyly removed the Daughters of the Confederacy, city working to remove all Confederate monuments from public property. O.T. Davis Monument Company was in charge of the removal, hired by the United Daughters of the Confederacy, and worked through the rain Monday to ensure the job was complete.				Monument relocated to Oak Ridge Cemetery
plaque honoring Stonewall Jackson	St. Petersburg, FL	According to the plaque, it was erected Jan. 22, 1939 by the Dixie Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy to mark the "terminal of the Stonewall Jackson Memorial Highway."	Mayor Rick Kriseman	Mayor Rick Kriseman: "The plaque may not have elicted the same attention or emotions and the offensive statues and monuments that glorify the Confederacy, but that's no reason for it to remain on public land an serve as a flashpoint in this national debate."	Mayor Rick Kriseman, and consulted with Police Chief who suggested quiet removal for public safety	Public or private? Was unclear. On Central Ave and Bayshore Drive		Removed August 2017	City was unclear whether it was on public or private land, attempted to located the owner, removed anyway				Plauque in possession of the city
Confederate memorial	Bradenton, FL	8.5 ton granite spire.	County Commissioners voted to remove	City Commission concerned with safety after Charlottesville protests; heard public outcry to remove	City Commission	Public		Removed August 2017	Removed late at night to avoid traffic, safety issues				Unclear where new home will be; spire broken during removal
Memorial of Johnny Reb	Orlando, FL	Johnny Reb is a symbol of the Confederacy and its soldiers; gift to the city from the Daughters of the Confederacy in 1911, moved from original site to Eola Park in 1917	Journalist campaigned for removal, met with City Council	Orlano Mayor Buddy Dyer expressed that some in the community still see the memorials as a reminder of white supremacy and the removal demonstrates the city's "commitment to inclusiveness;" (previously Dyer said he did not think the statue should be permanently removed); removal in the name of public safety	Mayor Buddy Dyer decided the statue would be remove without approval from the City Council	Public, Lake Eola Park		Removed August 2017	Praised for swift action				Memorial moved to Greenwood Cemetery, and kept is a section for Confederate soliders
three plaques commemorating Confederate soldiers	Daytona Beach, FL	Two of the plaques contained the names of soldiers from east Volusia County who fought for the South in the Civil War. The other plaque was part of a small monument, and attached to a rectangular pink stone next to a larger memorial for soldiers from all wars. That plaque was dedicated in 1961 by "Southern Citizens of Daytona Beach" in memory of area Confederate soldiers.	Mayor Derrick Henry	Mayor Derrick Henry: "I don't think they need to have a prominent place in public life if it in homage to the Confederacy"	Mayor Derrick Henry	Public, Riverfront Park		Removed August 2017	Mayor Henry made comments to city newspaper about removal and following day the plaques were gone.				Unclear where plaques are now.

United Daughters of the Confederacy Monument	Kansas City, KS	Orignally erected to "Loyal Women of the Old South"	Missouri Chapter of the Daughters of the Confederacy	Removal after monument had been vanalised; United Daughters of the Confederacy decided to take action after the monument was vanadlised on August 18, 2017; they received onver 100 phone calls and were notified that the Kansas City Parks Board received a complaint from a resident	Kansas City Park Board	Public		Removed August 2017	After complaints and vandalism, monument was removed				Unknown; likely on private property outside the city
Monument commemorating the Kentuckians who fought and died for the Confederacy	Louisville, KY	The statue was gifted to the city by the Kentucky Woman's Monument Association in 1895 to commemorate the Kentuckians who fought and died for the Confederacy during the Civil War.	Mayor Fischer and University of Louisville President Ramsey	James Ramsey, former University of Louisville President: "We are not here to erase history, but we are here to announce that this statue should be situated somewhere more appropriate than a modern campus that celebrates its diversity."	University President	Public, University of Louisvile, on 3rd Street of UofL's Belknap campus	Louisville had to withstand a lawsuit from a group of residents and the Sons of Confederate Veterans for the statue to be removed.	Removed November 2016		Once the statue is removed, the median on Third Street to be replaced with a new lane to improve access to the Speed Art Museum and assist traffic flow around the University. UofL and city officials plan to have the work completed as soon as possible as soon as students left the campus for the summer. (April 2016)			Monument moved and rededicated in Brandenburg, recontextualized and welcomed there as a memorial
Robert E. Lee in Lee Circle	New Orleans, LA	private group erected the monument in 1884, this memorial to General Lee stood in the center of what came to be known as Lee Circle	The City of New Orleans	The City of New Orleans: "...failed to appropriately reflect the values of diversity and inclusion that make New Orleans strong today."	The City of New Orleans	Public	After a decision by the 5th Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals (not on private land, monuments would not be harmed) it was found that the Confederate monuments on New Orleans would be removed.	Removed May 19, 2017	The last of the four statues removed in the city	Minus this figure of Lee, the site virtually remains identical, the city having done little publicly to indicate what might happen here. There have been rumors that a non-profit group was hired by the previous mayoral administration to collect public input on what should replace the statue. Meanwhile, the city was supposed to have undertaken a major effort to physically clean up the site, power-washing the column, etc. An impromptu group threw "Forever Lee Circle" Mardi Gras beads out during Carnival last year in an act of protest, and just this week there have been talks of dedicating the site as "Victory Circle," a plan which includes reinstating Lee on site. As of April 23, 2018: Mayor Cantrell hasn't said what will happen to Lee Circle—the "only process in motion is being handled by a group without any official designation that began envisioning what could replace Lee Circle. Colloquate, being led by Tulane architecture professor Sue Mobley and architect Bryan Lee Jr., few out of a conference they attended last year. They began a public engagement process that included making posters of possible monument replacements in June. In the fall, at an event held at the New Orleans Public Library, Mobley and Lee were stumned by the interest in the discussion around the monuments when there was an outpouring of ideas from people from all walks of life. As the project expanded, it created a free newspaper that outlines some of the proposals Colloquate received. But Mobley said that the group never envisioned being part of the official process and, in fact, never asked to be. They found out the mayor was giving them his official blessing 10 hours before a news conference went out about it, she said." There have been suggestions that site honor other people of local prominence. "Mobley and Lee say they understand the impulse that arises from honoring a specific person, but they have encouraged participants to think more broadly…they want a process that is as inclusive and as broad as possible."		public/private brainstorming; pedestal still standing	Monument removed to undisclosed location; being stored by the city
General P.G.T. Beauregard	New Orleans, LA, at entrance to City Park	Beauregard Memorial Association (BMA). The comerstone for the monument was laid in 1913, and the statue itself was unveiled on November 11, 1915. The statue, by Alexander Doyle, one of the premier American sculptors.	The City of New Orleans	The City of New Orleans: "...failed to appropriately reflect the values of diversity and inclusion that make New Orleans strong today."		Public	After a decision by the 5th Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals (not on private land, monuments would not be harmed) it was found that the Confederate monuments on New Orleans would be removed.	Monument removed May 17, 2017. Pedestal removed July 2018.	The third of four statues removed in the city	Pedestal's removal the decision of the New Orleans Park Improvement Association. After the figure had been removed, the pedestal itself had been covered with graffiti "on more than one occasion." The site will be landscaped, according to John Hoper, City Park spokesperson.		pedestal not removed right away, but has finally been taken down; local government still thinking about what to do with site	The statue itself is being held in a city-owned lot. The pedestal will remain in storage with the statue
Jefferson Davis	New Orleans, LA, on Canal Street at Jefferson Davis Parkway	private group; originally erected in 1911, nearly 50 years after the end of the Civil War, and commissioned by the Jefferson Davis Memorial Association.	The City of New Orleans	The City of New Orleans: "...failed to appropriately reflect the values of diversity and inclusion that make New Orleans strong today."	The City of New Orleans	Public	After a decision by the 5th Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals (not on private land, monuments would not be harmed) it was found that the Confederate monuments on New Orleans would be removed.	Removed May 11, 2017	The statue was taken down early (3am) on May 11, 2017, under a heavy police presence. This was the second of the four New Orleans memorials to be removed.	The New Orleans city council decided to remove these four memorials in a 6-1 vote in December 2015. "In January 2016, a federal judge dismissed an attempt by preservation groups and a chapter of the Sons of Confederate Veterans to keep them."		pedestal still standing; local government still thinking about what to do with the site	The statue itself is currently being held in a city-owned lot? Or, statue has been held in an undisclosed location?
Battle of Liberty Place	New Orleans, LA, at the bottom of Iberville Street near Canal	Obelisk that honored members of the White League "who led an insurrection against New Orleans' Reconstruction leadership." (not necessarily "Confederate"?)	The City of New Orleans	The City of New Orleans: "...failed to appropriately reflect the values of diversity and inclusion that make New Orleans strong today."	The City of New Orleans	Public	After a decision by the 5th Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals (not on private land, monuments would not be harmed) it was found that the Confederate monuments on New Orleans would be removed.	Removed April 24, 2017	This was the first of the four monuments to be removed by the city.	Mayor Mitch Landrieu admitted from the start of the replacement process and the future of the sites and statues was uncertain. Initially he said the sites could be obtained via a competitive bid process, but in March 2018, the mayor's office said that the fate of the statues and the future of Lee Circle would be left to then Mayor-elect LaToya Cantrell, who officially took office May 7, 2018. (ME: does this mean that the other 3 sites were left to other decision-making bodies??) As of April 23, 2018: 'Cantrell said in an interview with Gambit that she plans to work with the Monumental Task Committee, a group that opposed the removals, to develop a plan for what to do with the monuments. She also said she's willing to include removal opponents Lt. Gov. Billy Nungesser and businessman Frank Stewart. "They are not going to be re-erected, in terms of the spaces where they came down. They understand that….but I want (monument supporters) to ultimately decide….The public process being offered is a good place to start."		pedestal still standing; local government still thinking about what to do with the site	
Memorial of Chief Justice Roger Taney	Annapolis, MD	Commissioned by the State Legislature of Maryland. The sculpture, by the artist William Henry Rinehart, was unveiled on December 10, 1872. (Taney was the author of the Dred Scott decision)	Activists first, then supported by Governor Hogan after Charlottesville	Larry Hogan, Maryland governor: "We can't wipe out all of our history, not should we try to....But when it reaches the point where some of these symbols, whether they have historical significance or not, when they becoe a focal point for racism and violence, then it's time to do something about it."	State House Trust board voted to remove	Public, Maryland State House grounds	Removed via bill passed by General Assembly? (Check on this)	Removed August 18, 2017	Received some backlash, but overall positive?	Legistlature voted to remove and put in storage.			

Monuments to Lee & Jackson, Madre Luz in Wyman Park Dell	Baltimore, MD, in Wyman Park Dell near art museum and Wyman Park drives	Set within this 16-acre park designed by the Olmsted Brothers in 1911, a monument to Lee and Stonewall Jackson stood from 1948 until August 2017. Dedicated in 1948, the bronze statue depicts Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson atop horses before the Battle of Chancellorsville, Virginia, which, despite Jackson's death, came to be viewed as one of Lee's greatest victories. The monument was paid for through the will of banker J. Henry Ferguson, who died in 1928 and for whom the Confederate generals were childhood heroes. Sculptor Laura Gardin Fraser, hired through a design competition, commissioned architect John Russell Pope for the base. Inscriptions include, "They were great generals and Christian soldiers and waged war like gentlemen."	Mayor of Baltimore, Catherine Pugh	Catherine Pugh, Mayor of Baltimore: "They needed tocome down. My concern is for the safety and security of our people. We moved as quickly as we could."	Mayor of Baltimore	Public	Mayor has executive power to take action to protect the city. Mayor consulted with City Counci, which voted unanimously to remove, wrote a letter to Maryland Historical Trust.	Removed August 16, 2017, overnight	grassroots action prior to offical removal; site renamed officially post-removal. Removed with other three Confederate memorials overnight (Taney, Confederate women, Confederate Soldiers and Sailors)	August 2017 the mayor had all Confederate memorials in the city removed. Prior to removal, a local artist, Pablo Machioli, had created a counter monument to Lee and Jackson, Madre Luz, a papier mache figure of a pregnant woman carrying a baby. Madre Luz first appeared on site in 2015, but was quickly impounded. She reappeared just after the riotous events in Charlottesville in August 2017, and was knocked down and broken. Two days later Lee and Jackson were removed, and Madre Luz was repaired and put up again, standing as the only figure on site. On March 10, 2018, led by a grassroots movement and passed into bill by the city council, the site was renamed "Harriet Tubman Grove," two and a half years after Lee and Jackson were removed. In November 018, the Friends of Wyman Park Dell will be hosting a planning workshop to consider strategies for further dealing with the site. The commission in 2016 recommended removing the Taney and Lee-Jackson statues and adding "a very serious recontextualization" on the other two. Signs were added to all four memorials to note that they were part of a "propaganda campaign" by Confederate supporters to "falsify history and support segregation and racial intimidation."		pedestal remains; grassroots counter-monument; site renamed Harriet Tubman Grove in March 2018; public brainstorming; Now, there are posters affixed to the base that urged people to "block the Alt-Right" on the anniversary of the Charlottesville rally. "To me, it feels like, by taking the statues down, the spaces were opened up," said University of Baltimore historian Elizabeth Nix, who also served on Rawlings-Blake's commission. "They were opened up to people with other messages, different from the white supremacist message."	Mayor does not know where they were taken; they remain in storage
Chief Justice Roger Taney	Baltimore, MD, Mount Vernon Place north of Washington Monument in Mount Vernon	Statue by William Henry Rinehart. Was a gift to the City of Baltimore from the businessman and art collector William T. Walters, whose home faced Mount Vernon Place. It is a recast of the Roger B. Taney Monument at Annapolis, Maryland. The sculpture was unveiled to the public in 1887. Erected in 1887, the sculpture of Supreme Court Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, a Maryland native, is a copy of one at Maryland's State House by renowned sculptor William Henry Rinehart and commissioned by William Thompson Walters, whose art collection became what's now the Walters Art Museum. Unlike the other monuments reviewed by the commission, the Taney statue makes no overt references to the Confederacy. However, Taney's authorship of the Dred Scott decision, which ruled that Congress couldn't regulate slavery and that blacks weren't citizens, has caused him to be linked with the Confederate cause.	Mayor of Baltimore, Catherine Pugh	Catherine Pugh, Mayor of Baltimore: "They needed tocome down. My concern is for the safety and security of our people. We moved as quickly as we could."	Mayor of Baltimore	Public	Mayor has executive power to take action to protect the city. Mayor consulted with City Counci, which voted unanimously to remove, wrote a letter to Maryland Historical Trust.	Removed August 16, 2017, overnight	Removed with other three Confederate memorials overnight (Lee-Jackson, Confederate women, Confederate Soldiers and Sailors)	Mayor has plans to put plaque up where statue stood to explain why it was taken away?? The commission in 2016 recommended removing the Taney and Lee-Jackson statues and adding "a very serious recontextualization" on the other two. Signs were added to all four memorials to note that they were part of a "propaganda campaign" by Confederate supporters to "falsify history and support segregation and racial intimidation."		pedestal remains	Mayor does not know where it was taken; remains in storage
Confederate Women's Monument	Baltimore, MD, Bishop Square Park at University Parkway and Charles Street	Dedicated in 1917, the privately and publicly funded sculpture by MICA instructor J. Maxwell Miller was part of an effort across the south to honor the sacrifices of Confederate women. Paid for by United Confederate Veterans, the Maryland Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, and the State of Maryland, it portrays a dying Confederate solider with a tattered Confederate Battled Flag and two women, one cradling him and another standing, peering into the horizon. Inscriptions include "The Brave at Home" and "In difficulty and danger, regardless of self, they fed the hungry, clothed the needy, nursed the wounded, and comforted the dying."	Mayor of Baltimore, Catherine Pugh	Catherine Pugh, Mayor of Baltimore: "They needed tocome down. My concern is for the safety and security of our people. We moved as quickly as we could."	Mayor of Baltimore	Public	Mayor has executive power to take action to protect the city. Mayor consulted with City Counci, which voted unanimously to remove, wrote a letter to Maryland Historical Trust.	Removed August 16, 2017, overnight	Removed with other three Confederate memorials overnight (Lee-Jackson, Taney, Confederate Soliders and Sailors)	Mayor has plans to put plaque up where statue stood to explain why it was taken away?? The commission in 2016 recommended removing the Taney and Lee-Jackson statues and adding "a very serious recontextualization" on the other two. Signs were added to all four memorials to note that they were part of a "propaganda campaign" by Confederate supporters to "falsify history and support segregation and racial intimidation."		pedestal remains	Mayor does not know where it was taken; remains in storage
Confederate Soliders and Sailors	Baltimore, MD, Bolton Hill, Mount Royal Avenue near Mosher Street	Erected in 1903 by the Maryland Daughters of the Confederacy at what was then a gateway to Druid Hill Park, the monument by French-born New York sculptor F. Wellington Ruckstuhl depicts the allegorical figure Glory holding up a dying Confederate solider, who's holding the Confederate Battle Flag. Inscriptions include "Gloria Victis," (glory to the vanquished), "to the soldiers and sailors of Maryland in the service of the Confederate States of America 1861-1865," and the Confederate States of America motto "Deo Vindice" (God our vindicator).	Mayor of Baltimore, Catherine Pugh	Catherine Pugh, Mayor of Baltimore: "They needed tocome down. My concern is for the safety and security of our people. We moved as quickly as we could."	Mayor of Baltimore	Public	Mayor has executive power to take action to protect the city. Mayor consulted with City Counci, which voted unanimously to remove, wrote a letter to Maryland Historical Trust.	Removed August 16, 2017, overnight	Removed with other three Confederate memorials overnight (Lee-Jackson, Taney, Confederate Women's)	Mayor has plans to put plaque up where statue stood to explain why it was taken away?? The commission in 2016 recommended removing the Taney and Lee-Jackson statues and adding "a very serious recontextualization" on the other two. Signs were added to all four memorials to note that they were part of a "propaganda campaign" by Confederate supporters to "falsify history and support segregation and racial intimidation."		pedestal remains	Mayor does not know where it was taken; remains in storage
Bust of Chief Justice Roger Taney and bust of Thomas Johnson, first governor of Maryland	Frederick, MD	The bust to Taney was unveiled in front of City Hall in 1931 in a dedication ceremony. Johnson??	Council member (alderman) Donna Kuzemchak	Donna Kuzemchat, Adlerman: "To me, this was an embarassment." Kuzemchak also she has advocated for the Taney bust to be removed since 1997	The elected Alderman of Frederick	Public, in front of City Hall	Alderman (elected city officials) voted to have busts removed	Removed March 2017	Estimated would cost $5,000 to remove the two busts, as well as a placard explaining the history of the Dred Scott case that was added about 10 years ago in an attempt at a compromise.	Equal support for both sides, remove/don't remove. Two residents had filed a petition asking for a judge to review the decision, but it was later withdrawn. The group chose not to continue to fight the decision after the opposition "wanted to make some racial capital out of it. We had no wish to get into that business," Mathias Michel said. No plans to replace the busts?		Placards explaining the statues remain	According to Alderwoman Donna Kuzemchak, the busts and the plaque will be moved to Mount Olivet Cemetery and refurbished before they're put on display. The Mayor Randy McClement said the city had offers from private buyers for the busts, but that city officials wanted to keep the busts where they would remain on public display, and decided a good site was Mount Olivet.

13 ton monument to Confederate cavalryman	Rockville, MD	The statue of a Confederate cavalryman was donated to the county in 1913 by the United Daughters of the Confederacy and its inscription reads, "To Our Heroes of Montgomery County Maryland: That We Through Life May Not Forget to Love the Thin Gray Line."	County Executive Ike Leggett	Ike Leggett, County Executive: "This statue is inaccurate because it pays tribute only to the Montgomery County young men who fought for the Confederacy, not also to those county residents who fought to preserve the Union and free those held in bondage."	The County, led by County Executive Ike Legget	Public		Removed July 2017	City did not provide advanced notice due to fear of violence, kept removal date private. The county paid $100,000 to have the statue removed				Relocated near White's Ferry, a privately run ferry that connects Montgomery county across the Potomac River with Leesburg, VA
Confederate memorial with "The Angel of the Spirit of the Confederacy"	St. Louis, MO	The St. Louis monument, located on the park's Confederate Drive, which may also be renamed, was dedicated in December 1914 by the Ladies' Confederate Monument Association. It depicts The Angel of the Spirit of the Confederacy hovering above a bronze sculpture of a family sending a soldier off to war.	City decided to remove, Missouri Civil War Museum sued and challenged monuments' ownership	The City Council decided that since the monuments had been vandalized over the past few years, it was time for removal. It has been repeatedly vandalized with graffiti reading "Black Lives Matter" and "End Racism," according to news reports	The City with approval from the museum	Public, Saint Louis' Forest Park	St. Louis City Council reached the agreement with the Missouri Civil War Museum and other groups after a lawsuit halted the city's effort to dismantle the 32-foot memorial earlier in June, according to the mayor's office. https://www.stltoday.com/online/agreement-between-civil-war-museum-and-city-over-confederate-monument/pdf_f42df59f-e4ea-5c3b-ac2f-4fe8807d4e76.html	Removed July 2017	Museum would pay for monument removal and storage until a new location could be found	Time capsule found in the monument's base! Meaning those who erected it knew it would only be found if the monument was ever taken down.			Likely would go to museum, battlefield, or cemetery outside of St. Louis. Needs preservation work before it could be displayed again
Confederate Memorial Fountain	Helena, MT, Helena City Park	Commissioned by United Daughters of the Confederacy in 1916	8 members of the Montana Legislature's American Indian Caucus	The Helena City Council Commission found pubic safety concerns and the racist history of the fountain as cause for its removal	Helena City Commission	Public, in public park	After a period of public comment and unanimous support from the City Commission, removal of the fountain was agreed to	Removed August 2017		As of Feb. 2018 - Grassroots project aims to replace fountain with inclusive art: "Equity Fountain Project." A new fountain to be installed on the old base that was left behind.		The old base remains	Stored in city warehouse
Plaque honoring Gen. Robert E. Lee	Brooklyn, NY	Plaque honoring Gen. Robert E. Lee has been affixed to a maple tree outside a church for more than 100 years.	Bishop of the Episcopal Dioceses of Long Island	Bishop Lawrence Provenzan: "People for whom the Civil War is such a critical moment--and particularly the descendants of former slaves--shouldn't walk past what they believe is a church building and see a monument to a Confederate general."	Episcopal Dioceses of Long Island	Private		Removed August 2017		St. John's Episcopal Church in Fort Hamilton, which is home to the plaque, has been closed since 2014 — but the maple tree has remained. "This Tree Was Planted by General Robert Edward Lee While Stationed at Fort Hamilton from 1842 to 1847," the plaque reads. "The Tree Has Been Restored and This Tablet Placed Upon It by the New York Chapter United Daughters of the Confederacy. April 1912." Church officials have had to replace the tree at least twice in the past after the first tree died. Provenzano told Newsday that the current one is a "descendant" of the original. A second plaque — erected by the United Daughters of the Confederacy — is also affixed to the tree, with a note explaining how it's a replacement. It, too, will be taken down Wednesday, according to officials.			Stored in church's archives
Bust Stonewall Jackson	Bronx, NY	Part of the school's "Hall of Fame for Great Americans"	Bronx Borough President	Andrew Cuomo, Governor of New York: " New York stands against racism"	Bronx Community College	Public, Bronx Community College		Removed August 2017	Bust (along with bust of Lee) removed from college's "Hall of Fame for Great Americans" display	College President Thomas Isekenegbe also pledged to replace the busts with other historical figures that would help create a "space where all people feel respected, welcomed, and valued." In their rush to remove Confederates and sanitize the school's "Hall of Fame for Great Americans," officials left the bronze bust of the racist, 19th-century scientist Louis Agassiz.			Unknown
Bust of Robert E. Lee	Bronx, NY	Part of the school's "Hall of Fame for Great Americans"	Bronx Borough President	Andrew Cuomo, Governor of New York: " New York stands against racism"	Bronx Community College	Public, Bronx Community College		Removed August 2017	Bust (along with bust of Jackson) removed from college's "Hall of Fame for Great Americans" display	College President Thomas Isekenegbe also pledged to replace the busts with other historical figures that would help create a "space where all people feel respected, welcomed, and valued." In their rush to remove Confederates and sanitize the school's "Hall of Fame for Great Americans," officials left the bronze bust of the racist, 19th-century scientist Louis Agassiz.			Unknown
Confederate Solders Monument	Durham, NC	Popularly known as "The Boys Who Wore Gray;" memorial to the soldiers from Durham County who fought for the Confederate States of America in the Civil War; erected in 1924 in front of the Old Durham County Courthouse in Durham, North Carolina and dedicated on May 10, 1924. The United Daughters of the Confederacy advocated for the statue, but were unable to pay for it. It was paid for with public money—specifically one-half of one percent of local county taxes—through a provision that had to go through the state legislature.					Due to the state's Cultural History Artifact Management and Patriotism Act of 2015, changes to the statue or its base cannot occur without the permission of the North Carolina Historical Commission, and by the same law, the Commission can only approve moves to a location equally prominent on the same site.	Removed illegally: pulled down and damaged by protestors August 14, 2017	North Carolina General Statute 100-2.1, a section of Senate Bill 22, dictates that "a monument, memorial or work of art owned by the State may not be removed, relocated or altered in any way without the approval of the North Carolina Historical Commission," unless, among other reasons, the monument "poses a threat to public safety because of an unsafe or dangerous condition." According to the act, a publicly-owned object of remembrance may be temporarily relocated, and then replaced after no more than 90 days, only for the sake of an object's own preservation, or if the object is blocking construction zones. If it is permanently relocated, it must be relocated to a "site of similar prominence, honor, visibility, availability, and access that are within the boundaries of the jurisdiction." An object may be exempt from the law only if it is a Board of Transportation highway marker, is privately-owned or poses a threat to public safety. Supporters of returning Silent Sam to its original position have cited the act.	The statue was pulled down and severely damaged by protestors on August 14, 2017, as part of nationwide demonstrations that followed the fatal attack on counterprotestors at Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville, Virginia. For the illegal removal of the statue, the Durham County sheriff's office arrested and charged 7 protestors with multiple felonies and misdemeanors, including felony inciting a riot and misdemeanor disorderly conduct by injury to a statue. (All charges against the protestors were dropped on Febuary 20, 2018. Additional protests were held on August 18, 2017, among rumors of a possible KKK rally in opposition to the statue's removal. As part of the August 18 protests, a piece of paper reading "shame" was taped onto the inscription, causing it to read In shame of "The boys who wore the gray". "Death to the Klan" was written below this altered inscription in marker. The Durham City-County Committee on Confederate Monuments and Memorials was created in response to the statue's removal and first convened in April 2018 to issue recommendations on what to do with the remaining base within the confines of this law, as well to catalog and issue recommendations on other Confederate memorials in the area. In early 2019, the Committee recommended that it be displayed inside the county administrative building in its crumpled state. "The committee said displaying the statue in its current damaged form would add important context. The proposal would leave the statue's pedestal in place and add outdoor markers honoring Union soldiers and enslaved people." The proposal needs approval from the Durham County Commission. Durham County maintains that the Cultural History Artifact Management and Patriotism Act of 2015 does not apply, since the law does not address damaged monuments.		The base is still in place	After it was torn down, was placed into storage by Durham police

Confederate Monument University of North Carolina	Chapel Hill, NC	"Silent Sam"						Pulled down by protestors August 20, 2018		Documentary "Silent Sam."		The pedestal base and inscription plaques were removed on January 14, 2019, following a letter that day from Chancellor Folt justifying the removal on grounds of public safety, and also announcing her resignation. Thom Goolsby, Board of Governors member and former state senator, has said that the law is "perfectly clear": "Silent Sam needs to go back up on that same spot. Anything short of that is giving into mob rule and anarchy, and I won't agree with it."	
Robert E. Lee	Durham, NC, Duke University	installed in the early 1930s	University President, Vince E. Price, and Board of Trustees			Private		Removed August 19, 2017	Administrators deliberated about the empty stand for a year following the removal, in collaboration with student and faculty voices. One year later, on August 16, 2018, President Vincent E. Price published a followup statement announcing the plan for the empty monument: nothing. The space will be left empty to "engage in a process of education and community engagement" as the community considers the implication of the sculpture and its history.	The statue of Robert E. Lee on Duke University's campus, was vandalized. Protesters chipped away at the face of the statue, while alumni made their opinions heard. According to the Duke Chronicle, the day of the vandalism a group of hundreds of alumni, led by 2014 graduate Adrienne Harreveld, published a letter refusing to donate to the school as long as the figure of Robert E. Lee was displayed on campus. With the unanimous support of the Board of Trustees, newly instated University President, Vincent E. Price, ordered the statue be removed		Empty space where statue once stood	
Ripley House historic marker outside the home of a Confederate General	Worthington, OH		City officials	Assistant City Manager Robyn Stewart expressed that the continued display of the monument did not align with the city's aim to promote tolerance and inclusion. The city was also concerned about possible upcoming protests	The private property owner removed it after urging by city officials	Private		Removed August 2017					In possession of property owner
Memorial to Robert E. Lee	Franklin, OH; along Hamilton-Middletown Road and Dixie Highway	Monument was put in place in 1927 and dedicated by the United Daughters of the Confederacy and Friends	Change.org petition sent to city officials	The Change.org petition alleged that the memorial represented a celebration of slavery and hate	City officials	Public; first believed that the monument was the property of Franklin Township. However, the site was reviewed and Franklin city leaders say it was annexed in the mid 1990s.	Officials said that the monument for Robert E. Lee is located within Franklin's Right of Way for Dixie Highway, which places the monument exclusively within the municipality of Franklin. City of Franklin officials said they were not aware the monument was within the Right of Way, which reportedly must remain clear to avoid the creation of a public safety hazard. They then notified the township that crews will remove the monument and return it to a selected location, saying the monument itself is the property of the township.	Removed August 2017	Once crews for Franklin determined the monument could be safely moved, work began. City leaders say another reason it was decided to remove it in the overnight hours was to make sure the monument was not damaged.			Post-removal: someone put up a handmade sign in its place. In part the sign reads "We do no negotiate with terrorist."	Memorial removed to an undisclosed location
Nathaniel Bedford Forrest statue	Memphis, TN, Health Sciences Park (formerly Forrest Park, name changed 2013)	Confederate general who oversaw the massacre of black Union soldiers and became a Ku Klux Klan leader (grand wizard) after the Civil War. Cornerstone for the monument was laid on May 30, 1901 and the monument was dedicated on May 16, 1905	City of Memphis	The grassroots group TakeEmDown901, organized in part by current County Commissioner Tami Sawyer, had organized several protests in the respective parks that held both monuments. Van Turner, a Shelby County Council member, created nonprofit to take ownership of the parks where this and Davis' statues stood in order to remove them. Lawsuits against the city and Greenspace Inc. (nonprofit who purchased). Also the removal debate coincided with the city's anniversary of the assasination of MLK	City of Memphis	Public (sold to nonprofit for removal)	Removal first blocked by TN Historical Commission; City Council then passed ordinance to remove Confederate statues from public parks; eventual sale of the land the statue was onto a nonprofit who could remove the statue. (No city likes to see its funding get cut by the state legislature. But occasionally, there's a silver lining. (Tennessee, like a few other Southern states, has a preservation law on the books preempting its cities from removing Confederate monuments.)	Removed Decemeber 20, 2017	Removed along with the Jefferson Davis statue	Forrest and his wife are buried on the site, having been moved there in front of the statue after being moved from Elmwood Cemetery in 1904. A 2015 attempt by the Memphis City Council to remove the statue was blocked by the Tennessee Historical Commission in 2016. In September 2017, the Memphis City Council passed an ordinance to remove Confederate statues from public parks, including the Nathan Bedford Forrest Monument and the Jefferson Davis Monument, after October 13, 2017, due in part to increased police expenditure, to control protesters and anti-protesters, since the Unite the Right rally of August. On December 20, 2017, the Memphis City Council unanimously approved the sale of Health Sciences Park to Memphis Greenspace (nonprofit) for $1,000.00, allowing Memphis Greenspace to remove the monument. The monument, along with a statue of Jefferson Davis, were removed that evening. Appeal by Sons of Confederate Veterans Nathan Bedford Forrest Camp 215, who would like to see monuments restored to their original locations.		Technically now owned by nonprofit. "I don't think you would have had yoga in the park, dinner in the park," Turner said. "The programming has gone to the next level, and I feel that the removal of the monuments has invited that interest and energy into the parks. I only see that increasing." Graves of Forrest and his wife remain.	In May 2018, the Memphis Flyer reported that Memphis Greenspace plans to sell the Nathan Bedford Forrest Monument and the statue of Davis. Potential buyers must be nonprofit organizations who will agree to maintain the statues and display them in public somewhere outside of Shelby County, Tennessee. The following month, The Daily News revealed that the Memphis Greenpeace had received numerous offers to take the Forrest and Davis statues, including from Tennessee legislators, sites associated with the American Civil War, the Jefferson Davis Presidential Library and Museum, and the city of Savannah, Georgia.
Jefferson Davis	Memphis, TN, Fourth Bluff Park		City of Memphis		City of Memphis	Public (sold to nonprofit for removal)		Removed Decemeber 20, 2017	Removed along with the Nathaniel Bedford Forrest statue			Technically now owned by nonprofit. Pedestal was removed from the site in July 2018	Whereabouts publically unknown
Bust of Captain J. Harvey Mathes	Memphis, TN, Confederate Park, erected 1908	a long-forgotten Confederate soldier who lost his leg in the Battle of Atlanta, was a war correspondent for The Memphis Daily Appeal. After the war, he became editor of The Memphis Evening Ledger and a two-term state senator. Also wrote "General Forrest," a biography on his friend. His widow, Mildred Spottswood Cash Mathes, was among the ladies of the Forrest Monumental Association's Women's Auxiliary who raised money for a statue of Forrest. Forrest Park and its towering equestrian statue was dedicated in 1905. Three years later, Memphians dedicated Confederate Park, a memorial to the Battle of Memphis. The park included a bust of Mathes.	City of Memphis		City of Memphis								Turner said the state attorney general has asked him to develop a process to transfer the statues to interested and appropriate parties.

Statue of Jefferson Davis	Austin, TX, University of TX	The sculpture by Pompeo Coppini was commissioned in 1919 by George W. Littlefield to be included in the Littlefield Fountain on the campus of the University of Texas at Austin. It was installed on the university's South Mall in Austin, Texas from 1933. (Meant to be part of "Memorial Gateway" honoring Confederate dead, but redesigned as Littlefield Fountain, honoring those who died in the Great War/WWI. The 6 statues that were meant to be part of the Fountain were installed on the South Mall in 1933.)	University of Texas President, Greg Fenves	Fenves: "The historical and cultural significance of the Confederate statues on our campus — and the connections that individuals have with them — are severely compromised by what they symbolize," Fenves said in an August 2017 statement. "Erected during the period of Jim Crow laws and segregation, the statues represent the subjugation of African Americans. That remains true today for white supremacists who use them to symbolize hatred and bigotry."		Public, University of Texas, Austin	March 2015, UT's student government passed a resolution calling for the removal of Coppini's statue of Jefferson Davis from the South Mall. That August, the university in fact removed the statues of both Davis and Woodrow Wilson from the Mall and placed them in storage, despite a lawsuit from the Texas Division of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, which failed to persuade the Texas Supreme Court to block the plan.	Removed August 20, 2015		Ben Wright (Briscoe Center assistant director) said. "They stand on plinths but there are really cultural foundations which hold them up," he said. "And that cultural foundation shifts." Prompted unsuccessful lawsuit			statue back on campus, but in a different location, at the Briscoe Center for American History, exhibit
Statue of Woodrow Wilson	Austin, TX, University of TX	The sculpture by Pompeo Coppini was commissioned in 1919 by George W. Littlefield to be included in the Littlefield Fountain on the campus of the University of Texas at Austin. It was installed on the university's South Mall in Austin, Texas from 1933. (Meant to be part of "Memorial Gateway" honoring Confederate dead, but redesigned as Littlefield Fountain, honoring those who died in the Great War/WWI. The 6 statues that were meant to be part of the Fountain were installed on the South Mall in 1933.)	University of Texas President, Greg Fenves	Fenves: "The historical and cultural significance of the Confederate statues on our campus — and the connections that individuals have with them — are severely compromised by what they symbolize," Fenves said in an August 2017 statement. "Erected during the period of Jim Crow laws and segregation, the statues represent the subjugation of African Americans. That remains true today for white supremacists who use them to symbolize hatred and bigotry."		Public, University of Texas, Austin	March 2015, UT's student government passed a resolution calling for the removal of Coppini's statue of Jefferson Davis from the South Mall. That August, the university in fact removed the statues of both Davis and Woodrow Wilson from the Mall and placed them in storage, despite a lawsuit from the Texas Division of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, which failed to persuade the Texas Supreme Court to block the plan.	Removed August 20, 2015		Removed along with Davis because of "symmetry"?! It's a funny thing about statues, Ben Wright (Briscoe Center assistant director) said. "They stand on plinths but there are really cultural foundations which hold them up," he said. "And that cultural foundation shifts."			Statue cleaned and back in storage, no immediate plans.
Statue of Albert Sidney Johnston	Austin, TX, University of TX	The sculpture by Pompeo Coppini was commissioned in 1919 by George W. Littlefield to be included in the Littlefield Fountain on the campus of the University of Texas at Austin. It was installed on the university's South Mall in Austin, Texas from 1933. (Meant to be part of "Memorial Gateway" honoring Confederate dead, but redesigned as Littlefield Fountain, honoring those who died in the Great War/WWI. The 6 statues that were meant to be part of the Fountain were installed on the South Mall in 1933.) Johnston was a General, killed during the Civil War	University of Texas President, Greg Fenves	Fenves: "The historical and cultural significance of the Confederate statues on our campus — and the connections that individuals have with them — are severely compromised by what they symbolize," Fenves said in an August 2017 statement. "Erected during the period of Jim Crow laws and segregation, the statues represent the subjugation of African Americans. That remains true today for white supremacists who use them to symbolize hatred and bigotry."		Public, University of Texas, Austin	On August 20, 2017, in the aftermath of the Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville, Virginia, the university removed Johnston and the three other remaining Coppini statues (Lee, Hogg, Regan) from the South Mall.	Removed August 20, 2017					moved to Briscoe Center
Statue of Robert E. Lee	Austin, TX, University of TX		University of Texas President, Greg Fenves	Fenves: "The historical and cultural significance of the Confederate statues on our campus — and the connections that individuals have with them — are severely compromised by what they symbolize," Fenves said in an August 2017 statement. "Erected during the period of Jim Crow laws and segregation, the statues represent the subjugation of African Americans. That remains true today for white supremacists who use them to symbolize hatred and bigotry."		Public, University of Texas, Austin	On August 20, 2017, in the aftermath of the Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville, Virginia, the university removed Johnston and the three other remaining Coppini statues (Lee, Hogg, Regan) from the South Mall.	Removed August 20, 2017					Moved to Briscoe Center
Statue of James Stephen Hogg	Austin, TX, University of TX	Hogg was a segregationists politican (he allowed a law to pass that reinforced segregation in railroad cars), son of a Confederate general, and governor of TX from 1891-95. (First native-born Texas governor)	University of Texas President, Greg Fenves	Fenves: "The historical and cultural significance of the Confederate statues on our campus — and the connections that individuals have with them — are severely compromised by what they symbolize," Fenves said in an August 2017 statement. "Erected during the period of Jim Crow laws and segregation, the statues represent the subjugation of African Americans. That remains true today for white supremacists who use them to symbolize hatred and bigotry."		Public, University of Texas	On August 20, 2017, in the aftermath of the Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville, Virginia, the university removed Johnston and the three other remaining Coppini statues (Lee, Hogg, Regan) from the South Mall.	Removed August 20, 2017		Statue will make its way back to a prominent position on campus between the Main Building and Will C. Hogg Building — named after the governor's son. With no connection to the Confederacy, Hogg's statue was spared much of the controversy that its neighbors, like the Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis statues, faced.			As of December 2018, Hogg's statue is being returned to campus, two years after it was removed, albeit in a differnt location most likely.
Statue of John Reagan	Austin, TX, University of TX	Served as Postmaster General in the Confederacy	University of Texas President, Greg Fenves	Fenves: "The historical and cultural significance of the Confederate statues on our campus — and the connections that individuals have with them — are severely compromised by what they symbolize," Fenves said in an August 2017 statement. "Erected during the period of Jim Crow laws and segregation, the statues represent the subjugation of African Americans. That remains true today for white supremacists who use them to symbolize hatred and bigotry."		Public, University of Texas, Austin	On August 20, 2017, in the aftermath of the Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville, Virginia, the university removed Johnston and the three other remaining Coppini statues (Lee, Hogg, Regan) from the South Mall.	Removed August 20, 2017					Moved to Briscoe Center

Robert E. Lee	Dallas, TX, Oak Lawn Park (city park)	Installation in June 1936, when President Franklin Delano Roosevelt was present in Dallas for its unveiling				Public, city park		Removed September 2017		A temporary restraining order stopped the emergency removal process in its tracks last week. Crews were preparing the statue for removal for more than three hours on Sept. 6 when the TRO was granted. The restraining order was dissolved the next day, and plans were made to remove the statue last Friday. That didn't happen either, as the project's supervisor told WFAA-TV they hoped to get more prep work done. The city spent more than $400,000 just to have the statue removed — a process delayed by a last-second court order and a deadly crash involving a crane hired to transport the Confederate monument. That price tag does not include indirect costs, such as the overtime paid Dallas police officers who kept eye over the park, plinth and protests that took place before and after the statue's removal.		Task force appointed by the city council to make recommendations, and beginning January 22, 2019, the city will finally begin removing the plinth upon which the work was perched. In a release issued that day, Dallas City Hall said the Texas Pink Granite base — designed by Dallas architect Mark Lemmon — will be "disassembled and archived in a secure location" on city property. In a memo sent today to the Dallas City Council, Assistant City Manager Joey Zapata said removal will cost around $180,000. Of that, about $25,000 will go toward the conservation team overseeing its deconstruction and $155,000 is set to be spent on removal and transportation costs. The Park and Recreation Department will spend an additional $30,000 landscaping the site. Following the plinth's removal, parks crews will begin replacing the landscaping where the statue once stood.	The statue itself is in storage at Hensley Field, the former Naval Air Station on Mountain Creek Lake, biding its time in a crate made of plywood and Plexiglas.
Confederate Soldiers Monument	San Antonio, TX, Travis Park	United Daughters of the Confederacy paid for the statue when it was erected in 1899	Two councilmen	Cruz Shaw. San Antonio Councilman: "Let's put away the icons of oppression, let's put away the icons and symbols that suggest that 'I am better than you.'"	San Antonio City Council	Public	After a Coucil-consideration request was filed, the mayor fast-tracked the vote. The city council voted 10-2 (10-1??) for removal and the statue was removed hours later.	Removed September 2017	UDC says was not consulted by city in the decision to remove	"The statue was never given to the City, and so, as our private property, we want it to be placed back," Robin Terrazas, President of the Albert Sidney Johnston Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, which is pursuing a lawsuit against the City over the statue's removal, told News Radio 1200 WOAI. Terrazas says that it is illegal for the City to keep the statue, which was clearly paid for by the UDC when it was erected with much fanfare in 1899, and was never deeded over to the city. She calls the City's refusal to turn the statue over to the City, 'theft of private property.' "We have no idea where the statue is, and we have no idea where the time capsule is, if it even still exists," she said. A time capsule which was inserted into the base of the statue when it was dedicated on Jefferson Davis' birthday in 1899 continues to be another issue debated as part of the lawsuit. Terrazas says city officials have told her differing stories about the status of the time capsule, which contains several personal items of Confederate soldiers and, like the statue, is not City property. She says at one point, even though newspaper articles clearly tell of inserting the time capsule into the statue, City officials told her that talk of a time capsule inside the statue was 'folklore.'		As of March 2018, site still awaiting its fate. Today circular brick centerpiece filled with potting soils and annuals	Statue donated to an unnamed nonprofit. There has been talk of the statue being re-erected at the Confederate Cemetery on the city's east side, or possible at a museum as part of a section on Texas in the Civil War.